CULTURES OF MOTORWAY

LOCALITIES THROUGH MOBILITY AS AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ISSUE

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Edited by
Waldemar Kuligowski
Agata Stanisz

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Introduction

Most of anthropologist remember famous (and strongly controversial) Clifford Geertz's question: "What does ethnographer do?" – he writes (Geertz 1973: 19). In this volume we would like to introduce an another formula: What does ethnographer do? – he or she is in constant move. To be much less ambiguous: ethnographer drives a car. He or she uses motorways, roads, and parking spaces. He or she is a consumer of petrol/gas stations, car washes, roadside bars or restaurants and sometimes motels. Finally, he or she is a user of road sings, traffic lights, telephone booths and so on. For a discipline whose central professional rite of passage is fieldwork identifying as a permanent movement between "orbis interior" and "orbis exterior", there has been little a self-consciousness about the cultural consistency of this movement and its consequences. Taking it into consideration, presented volume can be comprehended as an attempt to deal with the issues of movement, notions of place and space, car cultures, cultural landscapes of road, roadsides and motorway, and above all cultural dimensions of social (local and global) practices and mechanisms connected with contemporary means of mobility.

In particular, it places emphasis on locality and mobility from an anthropological perspective.

Undoubtedly, over the past few decades we had witnessed a globalization of motor car. One billion cars were manufactured during the last century. Country after country – and also nation after nation – is developing their own "car culture" (Featherstone, Thrift, Urry 2005). As Daniel Miller suggests, in consequences of this process car "become an integral part of the cultural environment with which we see ourselves as human" (Miller 2011: 2). Anyone who assumes that a modern car is simply a means to get from point A to point B, is wrong. Profoundly shaped by cultural conditions, the car gives rise to a wide range of practices and emotions, from road rage in Western Europe to the struggles of cab driving in Africa to the emergence of Black identity in the United States. We should notice that the very term of automobility is a combination of mobility and autonomy.

David Gartman (2004) even developed specific scheme "Three Ages of Automobile". In his view, recently we live in the last third age (1960's – present) in which car is seen after all as a part of fragmented series of subcultures or life-styles and product differentiation. Most people perceive vehicles as a tool of expression and complement their individuality. In effect, we can buy and use many new types of vehicles: compacts, subcompacts, intermediate-size car, "muscle cars", sports cars, youth-oriented cars, personal luxury car. Something for everybody. Roland Barthes was right when he wrote in 1957: "I think that cars today are almost the exact equivalent of the great Gothic cathedrals: I mean the supreme creation of an era, conceived with passion by unknown artists, and consumed in image if not in usage by a whole population which appropriates them as a purely magical object" (Barthes: 1972: 88).

Memorable Barthes's opinion should be reformulate only in one point – global culture of car, especially put in infrastructural context of motorway, is dominated by landscapes without Gothic cathedrals. In fact, without any cathedrals or churches. "Everyday habitual performances of driving" take place in "mundane motorscapes" (Edensor 2004). In this light, very special phenomenon is the monument of Jesus Christ, the King of the Universe, which was built, located and consecrated in Świebodzin. It is a city in a western part of Poland, with 22 thousand inhabitants. It is also an important junction for railways and motorways, as national roads no. 2 (from Świecko, border crossing to Germany, to Terespol, border crossing to Belarus) and no. 3 (from Świnoujście, north of Poland, to Jakuszyce, border crossing to Czech Republic) intersect. Świebodzin is also located halfway from Poznań to Berlin. The monument is well visible from the S3 express road (and is supposedly visible from Zielona Góra, 40 kilometers away). An originator of the monument, the *spiritus movens* behind its construction, height and final shape, its location, and for making it meaningful was catholic priest Sylwester Zawadzki. He decided that giant statue stands almost halfway between

Berlin and Poznań, on the junction of important national roads, with thousands of people driving by every day. For these people, the monument is to become a reminder, that there are things beyond their present destination (Kuligowski 2014).

Yet strangely the motorway and cultural practices connected to them are rarely discussed in an anthropological literature. An advanced, multidimensional anthropological debate related to the motorway poorly exists and "the anthropology of the motorway" is currently almost invisible. This fact creates some paradox: while we all use motorways which speed up not only ethnographic research but also professional exchange of ideas and fieldwork knowledge, anthropologists tend to pay attention to broadly defined mobility without study its medium. In the proposed volume each chapter is a response of this lack from ethnographic, anthropological and interdisciplinary perspectives as well. The point bringing together all contributors (anthropologists, sociologists, cultural, political, environmental and geographical scientists) are perceiving and rethinking phenomenon of motorway and road as a "place of culture". The volume consists of two parts. The first one entitled "Motorways, people, and values" provides an ethnographically-informed (based on fieldwork research) calibration our main perspective on means of mobility, transport and movement. The second one – "Roads, cars, and mobility" presents complementary views from extra-anthropological perspectives significantly reinforcing and extending the idea of cultures of motorway.

In opening the first part of our volume article Waldemar Kuligowski formulates idea of motorway as a "place" of culture. He describes the phenomenon of motorway from three parallel perspectives: artistic, historical and anthropological. In consequence, Kuligowski presents various cultural expressions of the motorway in music, literature and cinema, from the last fifty years and he adapts some elements of historiography (European concept of construction of the motorway can be perceive as a totalitarian project). In last part of his paper Kuligowski refers some data from his own fieldwork conducted in local environments of Polish motorway A21. In conclusion he suggests that describing a motorway in anthropological terms seems to be both fascinating and necessary.

The investment project related to A2 motorway began in July 2009 with the objective of connecting Poland to the European motorway network (road E30 from Cork, Ireland to Omsk, Russia), at the same time becoming a convenient communication channel linking Berlin to Poznań, and further on to Warsaw. Our research area include 22 towns, villages, and settlements in two voivodeships (Greater Poland and Lubusz).

Similar point of view we can find in the article written by Peter F.N. Hörz and Marcus Richter. They focus on motel as a cultural phenomenon having the quality of being a place. In this view, they contest some established ideas promoted by the conservative cultural critique. Obviously, the motel become not only the omnipresent form of travel accommodation in America, but also a vivid symbol of the automobile society. Their paper sheds light on the appropriations of time and space which take place even in the highly rationalized and standardized environment of the motel. The reflections are based on both popular portrayals and participant observations carried out during two road trips through the United States.

Agata Stanisz in her paper focuses on spatial characteristics of the „field on the move" from the tractor unit cab perspective. It based on mobile pilot study on Polish drivers of long-haul trucks employed by international companies localised and dealing with forwarding in Western Europe. One of main goal of her paper is to ask a question about the mobility of long-haul drivers, who are the main performers of international transport. She shows the conflicting nature of chosen field – constantly on the move, changing its geographic location, but at the same time stationary and localised. The idea of multi-sited ethnography became shaky as the fieldwork often turned out to be limited to three square metres of the cab space and the truck drivers' work mainly consisted in pausing and waiting for further instructions, loading, unloading, documents, ending a pause, all in car parks, bushes, in the middle of a field, industrial zones, on loading platforms, in queues, on ferries, customs borders etc.

The following article is an particular example of "multi-authors" experiment. Seven young researchers presents it in result of a field pilot study conducted within the framework of the "Moving Modernizations: The Influence of the A2 Motorway on the Local Cultural Landscape" project. As they stresses this is the first report of the research, presenting the experience of a new reality, the ambiguity of the change, the local community's expectations and agency, as well as the emergence of "new poverty". As they writes: "We heard numerous versions of the events during our fieldwork and gained much experience ourselves. (…) Our main goal was to cast some light on the issue and present it in its diversity. Looking at the map, the motorway is only a line – the view from the ground is entirely different". We should see their "ethnographic notes" as an another argument for culturalization and anthropologization of motorway.

The main aim of Dorota Angutek's paper is to show how the symbolism of ways, routes and roads has changed in European culture since the Middle Ages up to the modernity. She starts from the folklore of the Middle-Ages and peasant folklore of the 18th–19th, then she describes some idea emerged in Romanticism. At the end Angutek passes to modernity in which "environment of motorways is empty, I mean without trees, cozy villages and walking people". She suggests – among the others – that today there are no individual connections with the cultural symbols of roads and ways of the past because we have not developed the necessary cognitive means of perception.

Gabriela Boangiu puts her analysis in the context the term of "cultural landscape". She tries to transgress the way of thinking in which the urban milieu is sometimes a space associated with anonymity, individuality, and anomy. Boangiu studies a cultural landscape from the perspectives of the urban environment, cultural identity, and particular social representations and practices. She's place of fieldwork was a Craiova – the largest city from the south-west of Romania, with a strategic position and connections towards all the other cities from Romania, along with the neighbouring countries (Hungary, Serbia, and Bulgaria).

To second part of our volume we introduced researchers from different disciplines. First of them is Richard Vahrenkamp. He focus on the development transportation via of motorway networks, logistics and freight haulage dating from 1950. He demonstrates how traffic policy of a gradually unified Europe shaped the development of logistics from its basic functions of transport, handling of cargo, and storage to the modern concepts of high performance logistics. The establishment of the European Domestic Market on January 1, 1993, involved the harmonization of fees, taxes, norms and regulations. Since 1993, any former barriers with the exchange of goods and services no longer apply, and trucks can cross the borders without stopping.

What's "Lewis-Mogridge position"? It can be paraphrases in an everyday language as a phrase: "the bigger the roads the worse are traffic jams". This is the base for Wojciech Szymalski's analysis. He stresses that problem of traffic congestion in the motorized cities of developed countries has appeared in the 1960s and 1970s of twentieth century, when people began to notice the correlation between the road capacity and the number of cars moving on them. In his article, Szymalski seeks for an answer to the question of how relations between number of cars, public infrastructure of roads and public or alternative transport are to the road traffic of a particular city – Warsaw.

Dawid Krysiński deals with a role of a car in Polish people's life. The author argues that the quantitative methods of analysis – which focus on statistical rank of factors as speed, cost and comfort of journeys – are insufficient. A various social and cultural aspects of the automotive, such as relationships between private car and personal identity or possibilities to resign from using the car also should be taken into account. Private car influences the shape of social relations, personal identity, chances and barriers met by individuals and image of the person in the eyes of others. At the end, it also brings new forms of social stratification, perception and work.

Another article provides an American perspective in similar problems. Jędrzej Burszta argues that the experience of automobility has had a profound impact on the ways in which Americans perceive citizenship. He focuses on the specific relation between highway and roadside imaginary and certain traits that are considered part of the American national character, as well as the shape and role of automobility under the capitalist regime. In conclusion he suggests that in the United States the everyday, mundane practice of driving can be seen as an important element in the wider process of constructing and consolidating national identity.

Rafał Szymanowski suggests that a new paradigm has emerged at the intersection of social science and transport studies. The main proponents of "Mobility Turn" are associated with a group of British researchers publishing in the journal "Mobilities". In his paper Szymanowski argues that the theoretical background of the this turn consists mainly of the different variants of theories of globalization. His article examines some of the most influential definitions of globalization, paying special attention to the ways in which mobility was analyzed. He notices also that the newfound popularity of research on mobility corresponds to the growing interest in the cities as a political space par excellence.

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Part I

MOTORWAYS, PEOPLE, AND VALUES

WALDEMAR KULIGOWSKI

The motorway as a "place" of culture. Pop culture, history and anthropology[1]

Motorways and cultural practices connected to them are not considered a proper topic of anthropological research. It is difficult to use conventional terms of the discipline, like "magic", "rite", "myth" or "exogamy". Additionally, the very influential concept of „non-places" (Augé 1995) suggests that motorways, as places devoid of history and identity, are not stimulating for cultural researchers. Other papers (Picon 2006) strengthened this impression, which suggests the necessity of integration of the history of planning and construction of motorways into a general "history of infrastructure".

There are studies concerned with "culture of the road". The Russian author Tatiana Szczepanskaja defined culture of the road as a "set of ethnic traditions – customs and norms and norms of behavior, attributes and representations connected with travelling" (Щепанская 2003: 8). This set should (according to her) consist of three aspects: material (e.g. means of transportation or roadside architecture), spiritual (e.g. rites) and socio-normative (e.g. social status of travellers or norms of behavior). Szczepanskaja focused only on examples from traditional Russian culture.

In this article I would like to describe motorways as an anthropological "place" of culture as well "place" of difference. I concur with Homi K. Bhabh (1994) who assumed that "a place of difference" indicates many contradictions, which are stressed not only in academic discourse, but

[1] This article is based on research supported by grant from the National Science Centre (NCN OPUS 218958).

also in the language of the arts. That is why my view of "culture" of the motorway is connected to three parallel perspectives: artistic, historical and anthropological. I will refer to expressions of the motorway in music, literature and cinema, from the last fifty years. These could be seen as efforts to familiarize and understand the phenomenon, which has become an important element of modern civilization. Next, I will adapt some elements of historiography, leading to questions arising from modern thought. The third perspective comes from my own fieldwork, based on building the A2 motorway (connecting Poznań with the western border of Poland).

Pop cultural perspective

The most famous (i.e. the most often described and referred to) motorway is the American U.S. Road 61, commonly known as "The Blues Highway". Running through the Mississippi delta and the city of Memphis, it is strictly connected to the history of American music (and politics). Elvis Presley was raised here; Martin Luther King, Jr. was shot in a roadside motel also on this route. Highway 61's unofficial name is mentioned often in blues songs (Fred McDowell, James "Son" Thomas). The most obvious reference is "Highway 61 Revisited", Bob Dylan's LP (including his hit: "Like a Rolling Stone"). It could be considered as Dylan's most important album, born as an act of defiance towards social establishment and middle-class culture, but also towards his fans, who did not accept his work in rock music and playing electric instruments. The meaning of the motorway-metaphor was connected with liberty, individual rights, and freedom to step out of social norms.

Artistic references go far beyond the idiom of freedom, represented by Dylan's lyrics and American blues. In 1973 the novel *Expressway* was published in America. The author, Elleston Trevor (under the alias: Howard North), was known mainly due to his spy novels (e.g. Quiller's cycle). *Expressway*, however, describes three hot days on the July 4th weekend when ca. three million people travel from New York to holiday resorts. On multi-lane motorways, traffic-jams, collisions and even murders take place. Highway Patrol (equipped with modern communication devices, helicopters and computers) try to keep the roads safe. The rush and heat are the background for the multilayered plot. North tells intertwining stories, showing people of different backgrounds, class and age.

The motorway becomes a synonym for modern man's environment. The motorway looks like a city: it is full of people and machines, of motion and noise. As any metropolis, the motorway connects random people and entwines their fates. It stresses all the elements of human life: death, love, conflicts and joy. It appears that North could have put his characters (their thoughts, emotions and words) in different places: on the city block, in a skyscraper or on a public square. Yet, he chose the motorway as the universal metaphor. In his novel, the motorway gains a status of natural Lebenswelt, a kind of universe of what is self-evident or given, a world that subjects may experience together. With Edmund Husserl (1970: 142) it could be said that the motorway is a grand theatre of objects variously arranged in space and time relative to perceiving subjects, is already-always there, and is the "ground" for all shared human experience.

A year later the German band Kraftwerk's fourth album „Autobahn" was released. In contrast to earlier works, "Autobahn" is not a completely electronic album, as violin, flute, piano and guitar are used along with synthesizers. The title track features both untreated and vocoded vocals. It describes the motorway A 555 from Köln to Bonn. Its lyrics are rather simple:

> We are driving on the Autobahn.
>
> In front of us is a wide valley
> The sun is shining with glittering rays
>
> The driving strip is a grey track
> White stripes, green edge
>
> We are switching the radio on
> From the speaker it sounds:
>
> We are driving on the Autobahn[2].

[2] In original German version:
Wir fahr'n fahr'n fahr'n auf der Autobahn
Vor uns liegt ein weites Tal
Die Sonne scheint mit Glitzerstrahl
Die Fahrbahn ist ein graues Band
Weisse Streifen, gruener Rand
Jetzt schalten wir ja das Radio an
Aus dem Lautsprecher klingt es dann:
Wir fah'rn auf der Autobahn.
(www.lyricsmania.com/autobahn_lyrics_kraftwerk.html, accessed 23.11.2014).

Kraftwerk („power station”) is a classic example of electronic music; they popularized this genre, first in Germany, then in the whole of Europe. In the 1970s the band’s minimalistic sound was perceived as a musical and aesthetical revolution. The monotony of driving a highway inspired this composition. The repetitiveness of the “white stripes” corresponds with the repetitiveness of musical phrases. The sound of instruments evokes a noise of working engines and passing cars. The effect is completed by the distorted voice of the vocalist. Kraftwerk built their vision of a motorway as a technological reality, which was artificial, alienated from other social environments and practices. North’s novel suggests that the motorway became a norm of life for a modern man, whereas Krawftwerk’s piece describes it as a quintessence of technological and logistical revolution. The difference in these visions is significant; for North the motorway is not distinguished from other elements of modern civilization, it integrates with it in an “osmotic” way, it fits. Kraftwerk stresses the otherness of the motorway, as an object invoking unique emotions and behaviors. However, in both cases the motorway is a “place” of life and culture, where people meet, the sun is shining and the radio is playing.

The motorway, as a theme of novels, songs and films should be described in a separate text. In this paper I wish to illustrate that there are many meanings, which the motorway gains in terms of different kinds of art. Concluding this section, Kylie Smith’s 2013 film “Blue Highway” is worth mentioning. It is a great summary of the motorway’s imaginary in the modern cinema. This film presents a set of attributes, connected to driving a motorway, like the radio (known for playing blues and Krawftwerk’s songs), searching for adventure, and presents the motif of going “West”. The motorway itself has become primarily a route to places, where some popular films were shot („Blue Velvet”, „The Searchers”, „Waiting for Guffman”). As a result, the motorway has become an integral part of the pop culture myth.

History

The term “motorway” came from the Italian “autostrada”; it connects “auto” and “strada” and literary means “car’s road” (in German – Autobahn, in French – autoroute, in English there are numerous terms –

expressway, throughghway, thruway, parkway, freeway, superhighway, motorway; in Polish – autostrada). An Italian engineer Piero Puricelli suggested creating a controlled-access motorway. In Puricelli's project, issued in January 1922, the term "motorway" was first used. This document presented the advantages of high-speed travel of people and items via straight and barrier-free ways. Puricelli's vision was applauded: on September 21st 1924 the construction of an 85–kilometre long section called "The Motorway of Lakes" (Milan–Varese) began (Koziarski 2004: 33). It was finished in 20 months. Therefore a new era of road infrastructure was started (Vahrenkamp 2012).

This concept was quickly used in Benito Mussolini's regime. The fascist leader assumed that construction works on motorways would stimulate the economy of the whole country, create more prestige for the state and reduce the unemployment rate. To fulfill these goals the Italian government founded a company, called Autostrade SpA. Establishing this body was one of the first administrative acts of Mussolini. By the time Italy entered the war, over 500 kilometers of motorways were built.

Another pioneer of European motorway construction was Germany. On August 6th 1932 a 20–kilometres long section connecting Koeln with Bonn was inaugurated. This road is in use to this very day. In the 1970s it inspired Kraftwerk to compose their album, mentioned earlier. The Nazi government of Adolf Hitler supported the motorway network construction program. It was expected to bring military benefits (fast transport of the military), and also social benefits (promoting transport by cars and the reduction of unemployment). In 1933 and 1934 a broad program of building a modern transport infrastructure was initiated: motorway sections of various lengths were built in western Lands, Eastern Prussia and Silesia. The German Reichsautobahn increased by several hundred kilometers per year, reached ca. 3000 in 1939 (Vahrenkamp 2010: 1). The demand to build an exterritorial motorway connecting Berlin and Königsberg (Królewiec) through the Polish territory of Pomerania became part of Hitler's ultimatum in October 1938 (with the annexing of Gdańsk into the Third Reich and the de facto turning of the Polish Republic into a vassal state). This act turned an infrastructural effort into a political, and then also a military action, as it contributed to the outbreak of World War II (Żerko 1998).

It is worth noting, that the beginning of war and the military expansion of Nazi Germany did not stop the motorway construction program.

Short sections were built, and started sites were completed (Koziarski 2004: 49). When part of the Polish occupied territory was converted into the so-called “Kraj Warty” (German Wartheland), German planers decided to connect it to the Reich with a network of motorways. The Reichsautobahn Corporation finished those plans in early 1940. What was especially important for my research was investing the motorways connecting Frankfurt am Oder (and later Berlin) with Poznań (and more importantly with Warsaw and Minsk). Its sections cut through two administrative parts of modern Poland: The Lubusz Voivodeship and The Greater Poland Voivodeship. Originally the German Motorway Directorate in Berlin oversaw the works and the above-mentioned section was called Reichsautobahn 8. The Berlin-Frankfurt am Oder route was completed in 1937 and after the annexation of Poland, the Directorate decided to extend it east. Constructing this motorway was intended not only as an infrastructural endeavor, but also as a “civilizing” act – as a means of transmitting civilization and progress.

The planned constructions consisted mainly of site preparation, building of key bridges and road exits. The works were interrupted in 1943, when the Nazis were held by the Eastern Front. Initially, the motorways were built by the German youth, but then these young people were sent to eastern frontlines. They were then replaced by forced-labor, mainly Jews from Łódź (Litzmanstadt) Ghetto (the biggest in Wartheland) followed by POW’s. 20 labor-camps, called Reichsautobahnlager (RAB Lager from the west: Rzepin, Bielice, Piniów, Torzym, Poźrzadło, Jezioro Łagowskie, Żelechów, Lubrza, Jordanowo, Brójce, Rogoziniec, Przychodzko, Bolewice, Wąsowo, Turkowo, Okusz, Cieśle, Gołuski, Żabikowo, Luboń, Starołęka, Krzesiny) were built in the vicinity of the planned motorway (Ziółkowska 2005). It is estimated that over 10 000 Jews were deported there. The workers performed mostly simple, but exhausting tasks, like lumbering, preparing groundwork, assembling transport rails, building the foundations, and removing soil from the route. Living conditions in these camps were devastating. In Camp Brätz (currently: Brójce) alone approximately 2 000 prisoners died. Moreover, after the construction came to an end, surviving personnel were sent to death camps (Mnichowski 1978)[3].

[3] The Institute of National Remembrance is currently investigating the extermination of Jewish labourers, who worked on Berlin-Świecko Motorway, in Kreuzsee Camp (near

Historical data clearly shows that the area I focused on is very particular; construction of the motorway initiated a totalitarian project. It was an element of aggressive policy, supporting military plans of rapid transport of military, people and supplies. This project led to the creation of detention camps and the extermination of forced-laborers. It is worth noting, that the course of the motorway (planned by Reichsautobahn) remained in the landscape; a belt of undeveloped terrain is visible to this very day. In many points of this belt remnants of the construction site can be found (e.g. concrete pylons, supports, dikes and other earthworks). This unique material heritage of III Reich's has become subject of recent archival research and became of interest to the local population (*Schwieriges Gedenken*)[4]. The local landscape has preserved the memory of the construction in yet another way. The infrastructural expansion of The Third Reich was intended as a cultural phenomenon. People travelling via motorways were exposed to typical Germanic scenery and so groves of oak, beech and maple were prepared. Symbolic connotations to German ideals were the reason of replacing the dominant pines and birch trees (Borderman 2014).

The idea of shaping the landscape (connected with the motorway project) comes from Friedrich Ratzel, selfstyled "anthropogeographer" and promoter of geographical determinism (Ratzel 1882–1891). He argued that there is a real link between a region and its population. Therefore there are traits of the landscape in local culture and inhabitants of the area shape the vicinity in accordance with their own spirituality. Ratzel claimed there is no "purely natural landscape", Naturlandschaft (Ratzel 1907). He described German landscape in his three-volume *Völkerkunde*, published at the turn of the 19–20th century (Ratzel 1895–1901). Ratzel's theories shaped 20th century understanding of the term "Lebensraum" (first used by Ratzel in 1901), which justifies the necessity and naturalness of expansion, carried out by the stronger state at the expense of its weaker neighbors (Ratzel 1966). This expansion was correlated with "the civilizing mission". As scholars note, "Lebensraum" has become the best-known political concept, arising from 20th century Germany (Smith 1980).

Rzepin/Reppen) in 1939–42, by The Third Reich. The investigation is based on art. 1., sec. 1 of decree of 31 August 1944: "Punishment for fascist-nazi criminals, charged with murder and abuse of civilian population and POW's".

[4] In Żabików near Poznań the Museum of Martylology was opened in 1979. There is a permanent exhibition called „Reichsautobahnlager. A Forced Camp for the Jews 1941–1943".

Adapted by The Third Reich, legitimized eastern expansion and then vast colonization of German settlers on Polish and Ukrainian territories.

Anthropology

Paradoxically, the course of the main Nazi highway became a basis for the plans of the Polish government half a century later for construction of the A2 Motorway (from Poznań to the western border) in 2001–2011. The spokeswoman of "Autostrada Wielkopolska", the main contractor, admitted that "it strictly follows the initial German project" (Boderman 2014). The convergence of elements of official Polish government discourse and past Nazi slogans also seems surprising. Both The Third Reich and The Republic of Poland associated the project with the idea of progress. Moreover, this part of the government policy was intended as a response to public expectations. A survey held by PBS DGA, at the request of On Board Public Relations Ecco Network (2012 July), shows that 75% of Poles considered investments in road infrastructure a priority for the coming 10 years (*Komu potrzebne są autostrady?* 2012). And when in 2014 the Wielkopolska branch of "*Gazeta Wyborcza*", one of the most influential daily in Poland, announced a poll that asked readers to select the most important event of the last quarter of the century (1989–2014), the first place was claimed by the construction of the motorway connecting Poznań with Berlin and Warsaw. The newspaper commented that "Poznań citizens waited almost 20 years to be able to smoothly travel from Poznań to both capital cities – finally, Poznań has been integrated with Europe." "The motorway bestows upon us a special sense of being between the East and the West", a local political scientist commented. "The motorway is of crucial importance to business", one of the local businessmen claimed (Mazur 2014: 1).

My field studies (conducted in towns and villages near the A2 motorway, in the 30-kilometre-deep zone between The Lubusz Voivodeship and The Wielkopolska Voivodeship) failed to prove that the project is perceived as means of progress. There are two arguments against that perspective: (1) a clear regression in economic status of local small businesses (both services and commercial), (2) treating the motorway as an "alien" entity, which has never become the natural Husserlian Lebenswelt. In the following section I will explain both phenomena.

Figure 1. Motorway A2, Torzym, Lubusz Voivodeship, 2015
(photo by Waldemar Kuligowski)

Before the inauguration of the A2 motorway, nearly all the small businesses were located near Droga Krajowa 92 (National Road 92), the most important Polish route west. It consisted of bars, restaurants, motels, workshops, night clubs, gas stations, car parks, car washes, convenience stores, groundcover, handicraft and garden decorations stands (including the famous garden gnomes). A vast traffic of trucks, personal cars and coaches provided a constant flow of clients and money. Both Polish citizens and foreigners (especially from the West, central and eastern Europe) were customers. Illegal activities also became a part of the local landscape: prostitution, selling of stolen fuel, and smuggling (of goods and people). Constant and heavy traffic on the DK92 brought both a flow of money and a wave of crime. Authorities also reported a significant number of traffic accidents. All of these conditions were seen as "natural".

The opening of the A2 motorway (its route closely followed the DK92) disturbed this established "normality". As a consequence of this, the movement of people and cars decreased. The motorway took over most of the transfer, depriving the local population of their profits. Big companies, with gas stations and restaurants chains, dominated the service infrastructure. Small retail businesses and services were moved out beyond the motorway barrier. Because of this, a good part of local business were bankrupted or near to bankruptcy. Old traffic jams, heavy 24/7 traffic and even roadside prostitutes are remembered with nostalgia. Instances of successful new businesses or even changing the line of work are rare. Frustration and lack of perspective have become the dominant experience. A construction worker (temporarily employed in the renovation) summed them up in an uncompromising manner:

> *We've got shit here. The motorway gave us nothing, and took nothing away from us. It doesn't really matter. There is no work, no perspectives. On the DK92 everything died. I worked in Ireland and Germany. When I came back for my mother's funeral, I wanted to leave immediately. You can't live a good life here.*

The diagnosis about the deep crisis of the local economy, caused by the opening of the A2, is somehow limited. Firstly, it focuses on the present day. The future could be more optimistic, as the economic emigrants are returning. These people are relatively well off and have fresh ideas for business e.g. funding private kindergartens, handwork workshops or wild game restaurants. The economic situation might improve over the next few years; however it is poor at the moment.

Secondly, the argument against treating the motorway as a medium of progress is connected with the cultural reactions it triggered after its opening. The road users inevitably changed. One opinion of a local official can be considered as representative:

> *I spoke with a Ukrainian TIR-driver who told me why people like him don't use the motorways. They can't have a good meal, wash their vehicle, nor find a girl.*

A Lithuanian truck-driver added an important point:

> *Polish motorways are good but expensive. So I use the DK92. I need a place to park and take a shower.*

In both statements the motorway is perceived as an alien place. This alienation consists of several dimensions: economic, infrastructural and social. For the drivers the A2 toll is too high, particularly when an alternative route (DK92) is available. According to drivers paying to access the A2, a large toll cannot be justified, as the motorway is neither accompanied by local infrastructure nor is comfortable to use. This is the first reason why it is rejected. Another is the lack of proper infrastructure. Drivers do not like McDonald's and no other restaurant chain was granted

Figure 2. The roadside bar in Brójce, national road no. 92,
Lubusz Voivodeship, 2014 (photo by Waldemar Kuligowski)

the license to operate in the studied zone. In their eyes McDonald's menu and layout are satisfying. During their stops they are usually tired and want to relax which is impossible at McDonald's. They also do not like the food. Finally, the drivers' casual dress is stigmatized at the restaurant. Drivers also complain about the anonymous atmosphere found there.

Faced with motorway tolls and the infrastructure dominated by corporations, many drivers choose the DK92. They openly say they do not need any "luxuries", but somewhere to park and a place to take a shower. It is also hard to find prostitutes on the new motorway, which is an important part of some drivers' work-rest cycle. It is also worth noting that the local population feels the same way, that the motorway is too expensive and there are no decent places to stop. Social relations proved to be most important. Many drivers take their stops in the same places where they already feel comfortable and welcome. A waitress from the "Pod Sosenką" bar noticed this need for socializing:

> *We have always had different customers: Poles, Russians, but also Englishmen. Most of them come back. I know their faces; we can chat, they like to show me pictures of their growing kids.*

Figure 3. The roadside business in Miedzichowo, national road no. 92, Greater Poland Voivodeship, 2014 (photo by Ewa Krygiel)

During my study I saw examples of such familiarity many times: drivers and the staff of markets or restaurants and bars address each other by their first names, are friendly and talk about their health and family affairs.

These customers often have their regular habits: favorite dishes, favorite tables or kind of coffee. When the staff knows this they can satisfy these needs and both sides benefit. Such behavior ensures psychological comfort and helps form social bonds. Such familiarity is not possible within the motorway infrastructure.

As in the case of economic conditions, the cultural consequences of operating the motorways can also change. My studies describe the present state, when the motorway is still the symbolical “other”. But some current phenomena suggest that the economic importance and cultural status of the A2 will change. Inhabitants of local buildings admitted they got used to the noise of the motorway. Some even claim that the noise helps them to sleep. Paradoxically, even animals have become accustomed to the motorway. During the initial period they did not use the passes prepared for them; being afraid of the noise and lights. Recently however, roadside surveillance showed an increased activity of fauna, including crossing of the passes. It can be concluded, that the local ecosystem has adapted to the motorway.

All these remarks have been aimed at "freeing" the motorway from the progress discourse. My fieldwork (still in progress) on the A2 western sections show that the motorway is a set of phenomena, which cannot be reduced to elements of the progress discourse. The motorway has economic, cultural and ecological aspects. Currently it is not easy to notice the clear connections between these three. We are rather dealing with a „disjunctive order which cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center-periphery models (…) models of push and pull (…) or of surpluses and deficits (…) or of consumers and producers" (Appadurai 1990: 296). The cultural significance of the A2 is not explained by the known motifs: freedom (Dylan), forms of modern life (North), technological revolution (Kraftwerk), nor totalitarian projects (Reichsautobahn). What can be said for certain is that the motorway is a "place" of culture: of forming, consolidating and deconstructing social practices, values and relations (in both the human and animal worlds). Moreover, it can be analyzed not only as a catalyst for change, but also as the anthropological "other". In this context describing the motorway in anthropological terms seems to be both fascinating and necessary.

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Between Arrival and Departure. Some Ethnographic Notes on the Appropriation of Time and Space in Motels

The Ambience of Alcatraz…

> Think of it. You endure 36 hours in a rented SUV[1] packed with five of your friends for a little Spring Break escapism and where do you end up? In a crummy chain motel with all the ambience of Alcatraz. No need to be defeatist about it, though. Our designer Bill Van Parys offers a few cheap-yet-mind-blowing styling tips that will turn your motel into a righteous Spring Break pleasure palace.
> (Abercrombie & Fitch 2001: 61)

With this ironical quotation from a small essay published in the 2001 "Spring Break Issue" of the catalogue of the American cult fashion label *Abercrombie & Fitch*, surely not everything is said that could be said about the motel as a travel accommodation. However, some central features of what makes the character of this kind of accommodation are conveyed by these few lines: The time spent in a car indicates the connection of this type of accommodation with motorized individual transport, as is expressed by the name "motel", which is a portmanteau word derived from "motor" and "hotel". Moreover, the allusion to Alcatraz shows that the affordable motels, often operated by big franchising chains, are highly standardized in architecture, interior, and ambience

[1] SUV (Sport Utility Vehicle) is a kind of automobile that is mostly able to drive off-road and has a capacious luggage compartment and a large tailgate.

Figure 1. Motel image (photo by Peter F.N. Hörz)

and appear *per se* not very attractive. Further on in the text, but mainly in the accompanying illustration, it becomes clear in what travelers find this accommodation to be lacking. By means of two pictures arranged in the before-and-after manner[2], *Abercrombie & Fitch* illustrates in a mildly ironic way how the bald and sparsely filled room could be transformed into something more individual, something like a real hotel, something the majority of middle class Americans had not been able to afford even before the financial and real estate crises. Although it is perfectly clean and furnished with a bed, a commode, a TV, and a suitcase stand, the room is not really cozy and is rather off-putting in its primary appearance. However, once it has been decorated with fairy lights, tropical indoor plants, a zebra-patterned coverlet, and a variety of beach equipment, as

[2] Unfortunately, we have to deprive the reader of this illustration since *Abercrombie & Fitch* persistently ignored our requests for permission to use the two pictures in our article.

Figure 2. Motel image (photo by Marcus Richter)

in the second picture, the same room does not only gain appeal, but also retains the style which seems to make the difference between a motel and a holiday palace.

In fact, the term “motel” describes a type of accommodation for motorized travelers that is characterized by standardized architecture and interiors. Compared to hotels, motels do not inevitably lack comfort, but are missing what is called individuality and distinctiveness or, as one might say in less rational terminology, “soul” and “character”. This is especially true of the big national motel chains (*Travelodge*, *Motel 6*, or *Super 8 Motel*), where ground plans and the interior design are identical and interchangeable, at least in motels built during the same era. Yet, even in singular cases of independently run family motels, the built structures, the functional allocation of the rooms, and the interaction between people remain not identical, but very similar in principle: There are always neon signs by the road trying to draw the motorist’s attention to the available accommodation on offer, advertising cable TV, air conditioned rooms, fridges, microwave ovens, or swimming pools.

In the case of vast competition in one specific place, motels do not forget to inform customers about prices per room or per person. For this purpose, sometimes a large remote-controlled sign, similar to a display showing gas prices at gas stations, placed next to the road or the freeway, informs the traveler about current accommodation prices from a distance. A neon sign signaling the words *vacancy* or *no vacancy* almost always exists, showing the drivers if there are rooms available or not.

Those looking for a place to stay overnight drive their cars into the parking lot right in front of the office, which is positioned next to the gateway to the court-like setting. After asking for a room, the traveler must provide identification by showing an official document. He or she pays in advance, receives the room key and the remote control for the satellite TV, goes back to the car, and drives into the piazza lined by the buildings where the rooms are located. Ideally, the motel is a single-level building, and thus, allows access to the room door directly from the car. This can be advantageous if the traveler has reason to mistrust (justified or not) the other guests at the motel. On arrival late at night and with only one employee present, the check-in procedure frequently does not take place at the registration desk in the office, but at a small night window. All papers necessary for registration and payment can be shoved through a small opening in this window, similar to that one finds at bank counters.

Since motels are rarely affiliated with gastronomic facilities, travelers usually have to rely on supermarkets, pizza delivery services, or restaurants nearby for sustenance. However, many motels provide vending machines offering snacks and soft drinks inside the building or in their courtyard for travelers with only small appetites. If the guests are lucky, they will also find a continental breakfast served in the entrance hall of their motel after spending the night in a king- or queen-sized bed. This again is especially true in places where competition between several motels occurs and operators feel that they have to convince travelers of their individual benefits. After grabbing this breakfast, usually consisting of nothing more than a plastic cup of coffee from a thermos and a piece of pastry sealed in plastic foil, travelers are free to check out directly with the attendant. Those checking out early or in a hurry, however, can put their room keys or keycards in a box placed next to the office and leave the premises without having to see an attendant.

Millions of roadside overnight stays like this are experienced along the freeways, the roads in industrial areas, or on the outskirts of big cities.

Figure 3. Motel image (photo by Marcus Richter)

Therefore, motel accommodation can be claimed to be a taken-for-granted part of everyday life in the US in a society shaped by automobility (cf. Seiler 2008). This everyday obviousness does not only make the irony in the quoted passage from the *Abercrombie & Fitch Quarterly* more comprehensible. It also explains why the motel has repeatedly been the subject of popular portrayals (Margolies 1996; Wood and Wood 2004) as well as of inquiries by mostly American social and cultural researchers (Belasco 1979; Jakle 1980; Jakle, Sculle, and Rogers 1996). Some of these studies, which are mainly concerned with the history of the motel, Peter Hörz has already tried to comprehend while living in Southern California in the years around the millennium, frequently using motels on his travels. Jointly, we reviewed some of these studies, which are mainly concerned with the history of the motel, before, during, and after a three-week road trip through the American South-West in February 2010. In the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah, we experienced the "Home Away from Home" (Margolies 1996) with our bodies, minds, and souls (Bendix 2005), and carried out participant observation in and around motels in order to gain insights into the connection between the given (built) structures and practices which take place in motels. We conducted this type of research again in September 2014 on an extensive road trip along the East Coast from Philadelphia to

Key West, relying on roadside accommodation in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

In our text, considerations regarding the economic, social, and cultural history of the motel are made only to the extent that is necessary to understand the phenomenon of the motel. The major purpose of our article is to shed light on practices of the appropriation of time and space in motels from the perspective of cultural anthropology, referring to our observations of what is taking place in and around motels between arrival and departure. By doing so, we are contesting earlier scientific approaches to the motel, which are mostly inspired by a conservative upper middle class cultural critique, as they aim to deny the motel its quality as a "real" place and tend to play off the qualities of the "real" hotel against the characteristics of the standardized and economically streamlined lodging provided by motels.

The motel – a non-place?

The standardization of structures and organization, which is materialized in the phenomenon of the motel, undeniably leads to inevitably repetitive forms of activities and experiences. This gives some good cause to place the motel into the same row with those spaces that Marc Augé (1995) has defined as "non-places" (originally "non lieux"). Focusing mainly on gas stations, airports, and other spaces characterized by transit, Augé, however, has mentioned accommodation only in passing in his outline of an "Anthropology of Supermodernity". The central features of the "non--place", which are the lack of history and identity, the fleetingness and monotony of actions and experiences, can, notwithstanding, be assumed for the shape of accommodation provided by the motel: Both in Augé's "non-place" and in the motel, spatial and organizational structures as well as rules and regulations produce "the traffic conditions of spaces" (96). Just as with the archetypal "non-place", the motel stands out as a space that is not designed for permanence but as a fleeting space of transition (94). Like in the "non-place", in the motel, "individuals are supposed to interact only with texts, whose proponents are not individuals but 'moral entities' or institutions" (96) that observe the space by pictograms, machines, and written texts. Therefore, the importance of spoken words in relation to written texts – as in instructions, identity cards, car registration

Figure 4. Motel image (photo by Peter F.N. Hörz)

plates, and credit card data – tends to be almost negligible (cf. 101–102) in the motel. In the same way as Augé introduces the "non-place" as a space that evokes nothing "organically social", the motel can finally be understood as a space that produces only "solitary contractuality" between guests and the hospitality corporation (94).

Referring to other examples and by using a different focus, Augé criticizes the lack of history and identity of those spaces which had already been the subject of critical inquiries earlier. The US geographer Edward Relph (1976), for instance, claimed "a weakening of the identity of places to the point that they do not only look alike but feel alike and offer the same bland possibilities for experience" (90). Critical inquiries, however, did not only address spaces produced by (super)modernity in general, but focused on the motel itself. An example is Meagan Morris

(1988), who let us know about the transitional space of the motel that it "by definition, can never be a true place" (5). According to Morris, who is inspired by Daniel J. Boorstin's (1987) concept of the "pseudo-event", motels can be seen as man-made "pseudo-places" which possess a "calculated readability" and do not allow the realization of an authentic life as "true places" do (5). Boorstin himself, however, did not discuss the phenomenon of the motel in detail, but remarked on the consequences of the increase of motorized traveling for both "the character of lodgings en route" and for "the art of travel" (113): While travelers once had to leave the highway in order to look for accommodation, and thus, passing through the town, inescapably got an impression of the local characteristics, the rise of the roadside accommodation along the highways and interstates, which bypass the cities, made all this unnecessary. Since the motel business was, furthermore, successively predominated by nationally operating chains, travelers would find "the same brand of soap, the same cellophane-covered drinking glasses, and the same sanitized toilet seats all the way across the country" (113). In a similar way, James Clifford (1997) characterizes the motel in comparison to the "real" hotel as fleeting and un-placed. According to Clifford, "[t]he motel has no real lobby, and it's tied into a highway network – a relay or node rather than site of encounter between coherent cultural subjects" (32). Referring to Paul Virilio (1986) and his idea of the "fixed domicile" as a "strategic implantation" of the bourgeoisie (9), Morris again argues with a less pronounced critical undertone: "A motel is a type of installation that mediates (in spatial, social, and monetary terms) between a fixed address, or domicile, and, in the legal sense, 'vagrancy'" (Morris 1988:6). Quite recently, the French philosopher Bruce Bégout (2003) approached the motel in his essay about the "Lieu commun". Bégout particularly directed his criticism at the motels owned by large nationwide operating franchise companies, stating that, at the latest, these companies turned what used to be a hotel into a supermarket of sleep ("supermarché du sommeil") (126). Not without a pinch of arrogance, the author introduces the motel as a kind of storage space for travelers:

> Le motel se présente comme un bâtiment simple, souvent de plain-pied, qui n'offre à sa clientèle passagère qu'un unique service: une chambre à coucher. De par sa forme ordinaire et se matériaux rudimentaires, il ressemble à un entrepôt de marchandises, muni de fenêtres identiques et d'un hall d'entrée d'une

> simplicité spartiate, où une forte odeur de détergent insensibilise tout sens de l'hospitalité (Bégout 2003: 16).

And without considering the idea that the place which he describes as a place without attributes gains its attributes by the actions carried out at the place, Bégout argues that the motel became "la perversion immédiate de sa fonction initiale" because of its use for "les intentions moins honorables", such as a "lieu de rendez-vous clandestins pour les amours illicites, planque pur les criminels locaux ou en fuite, cachette pur les produits prohibés" (19).

The perspectives of the geographers and social and cultural theorists mentioned may vary in detail. In their evaluation of the motel, however, they largely coincide, for they do not only understand it as a space of transition and mobility, but also come to the conclusion that the motel in its spatial qualities could hardly ever reach adequacy for human needs. The social and cultural practices arising between arrival and departure are simply considered inferior in comparison to what the authors assume as the "right" practices which should happen in an ideal place to stay. This critical perspective not only unifies scholars of different provenance, but also became part of popular middle class cultural critique for a long time and marks the provisional end of the humanities' discussion of the phenomenon of the motel[3]. This discussion, which mainly focuses on the unresting automobile society and its noncommittal, fleeting short-term "storage spaces", while implicitly claiming that tranquility, stability, continuity, and individuality are the characteristics of "real" humanness, might be linked to earlier critical discourses on the phenomenon of mass mobility and tourism (cf. Enzensberger 1996: 121). At least, it started surprisingly soon after the opening of the first motels in the interwar period. As early as 1930, which is only five years after the architect Arthur Heineman had designed the first motel in San Luis Obispo (Central California), the sociologist Norman Hayner stated: "Each stage in the evolution of transportation seems to have been associated with changes in the forms of hospitality. Just as the inn developed in response to travel in animal-drawn vehicles and the hotel in response to the growth of railroads […], so the automobile tourist camp has developed as a new

[3] As several music videos, movies, and books show, the idea of the motel as a non-place was willingly taken up by pop culture, which represents the motel as the location where tragedies of everyday life take place.

Figure 5. Motel image (photo by Peter F. N. Hörz)

type of habitat for the traveler in response to the development of the automobile and automobile touring" (Hayner 1930: 256)[4].

By "the development of the automobile and automobile touring", Hayner meant, above all, the emergence of mass motorization as a result of Ford's production of cars in the first quarter of the 20th century. Similar to the Model T of the Ford automobile manufacturer, which made cars an affordable product not only for the upper class, but also for the middle class, Heineman and his epigones made roadside accommodation an affordable service by standardizing buildings and services, abolishing everything not absolutely necessary. The affordable car accompanied by the affordable roadside accommodation certainly turned the former

[4] Given that so-called automobile tourist camps were a relatively novel and yet already very prevalent phenomenon of lodging in the evolving automobile society of the late 1920s, especially along the US West Coast, Hayner (1930) was interested in taking stock of the various auto camps in the states of Washington and Oregon and classifying them. For this purpose, he focused on the geographical distribution and the physical equipment, as well as on the operators and users of auto camps.

privilege of traveling by car into a mass phenomenon, which was critically ogled by those who were once privileged (cf. Enzensberger 1996: 121). At the same time, the relinquishment of a restaurant, a bar, and a lobby, as well as the arrangement of the rooms which, in contrast to the layout of hotels, were not only accessible across an entrance hall and past a reception desk with attendants present, but could be entered directly from the car park, led to a loosening of both sociability and social control, which evoked the concerns of the middle class. Subsequently, the standardization and the informalization resulted in the creation of spaces which were considered as "placeless" (Relph 1976) or as "non-places" (Augé 1995).

Beyond cultural criticism

The motel, however, is not as much characterized by loneliness and unsociability or a lack of history and identity as one might assume referring to Augé's concept of the "non-place", nor is it as boring and monotone as Relph (1976) is trying to make us believe. It is also not quite as adverse to communication and interaction as Clifford (1997) suggests. Additionally, it is not the place without attributes as described by Bégout (2003). This becomes clear as soon as one readjusts the understanding of "culture as an explicit narrative of identity and meaning" towards the idea of "culture as nonverbal practices" (209), as Orvar Löfgren and Billy Ehn (2010) did in their study on "Doing Nothing". Against this backdrop, the multitude of actions tired travelers carry out almost automatically and sometimes incidentally once they have entered the courtyard of the motel hoping to find an affordable place to rest, turn out to be actions that "connect our lives with others" and "synchronize the activities and ambitions of strangers", as Löfgren and Ehn (2010: 208) pointed out with regard to so-called "non-events". Besides these "proto-ritualized"[5] or ritualized actions of the arrival, which also can be described as performative actions, since

[5] The Münster-based cultural anthropologist Andreas Hartmann (2007: 23) created the expression "proto-ritualism" ("Protoritualität") to describe "more or less structuralized", but still not too much formalized, sequences of behavior, such as morning toilet, tying shoes, eating breakfast, and other daily routines. In an automobile society in which car travel can be seen as a part of the everyday life of millions of people, many actions carried out at the motel – from stopping the car in front of the reception to unpacking/packing suitcases or bags or dropping the room key in the key box – can be considered as proto-ritualized.

they do not only take place, but make place while driving in, occupying the room, and unpacking the luggage, various performative practices of the appropriation of time and space happen in motels between arrival and departure. Some of them can even be noticed by the decent ethnographer who renounces intimidating other guests by knocking at their doors asking for admittance since they leave marks outside the privacy of the room: A mountain of fast food wrappings in front of the door of the room in which the four young men, who were traveling in an old SUV with their surfboards fixed on the roof, spent the night before indicates that some young adults with small budgets had last night's meal in their room. A battery of empty liquor bottles placed inside the trash can in front of the room door give witness to the party which took place behind the room door. A single-use paraffin-fired barbecue made from aluminum foil and lots of fish scales in the courtyard of a shabby motel in a small village on the Outer Banks (North Carolina) indicates that the family, who had just left the motel in their worn out pickup truck with lots of fishing tackle in its load area, enjoyed a dinner prepared from their catch on site. A condom's foil wrapping carelessly dumped in the parking lot can give a glimpse of an idea to which purposes the "non-place" motel can also serve[6].

Yet who would claim that the sociability of a shared fast food meal of four young surfer dudes or spontaneous parties celebrated in a motel room by a group of people who are on the road together could not be considered an act of culture or an assemblage of culturally impregnated practices? Who would doubt that the family who prepared the fish they caught on the barbecue some days earlier performed a ritual, while being social and communicative, and by taking pictures of their practices also produced their own memory and history? Who would claim that carefully planned, recurring dates with mistresses, or even coincidently happening one-night stands are not situations of encounter, saturated by communication and

[6] Studying the social function and significance of tourist camps in the region of Dallas, Texas, a group of sociologists discovered as early as in the middle of the 1930s that, in some cases, the motel, respectively the urban tourist camp, "is no resting place for the weary, but is an abode of love – a bower of bliss in which amorous couples devote themselves to the worship of Venus" (Hooker 1936: 14). On the basis of their insights, the researchers reasoned that the motel should be regarded rather as "a response to a changed sexual attitude" than as a promoter of amoral changes in sexual behaviour, especially non-martial sexual intercourse, as it was claimed as an argument against the proliferation of motels in these days (Hooker 1936: 18).

interaction? And who would consider the practices of local criminals hiding prohibited goods in their motel rooms as something non-social or non-cultural? Of course, none of these performative practices of appropriation of the built structures had the inventors of the motel in mind when they designed the archetype of the affordable "Fordist" roadside accommodation. Naturally, motel proprietors try to prevent at least some of these practices of place-making by displaying numerous regulation signs and prohibiting almost everything on their premises except some unsuspicious good night's sleep.[7] But do not signs with inscriptions like "Married couples only", "No alcohol on these premises", "No visitors", or "No minors" indicate that numerous fleeting conversions are not only conceivable, but have already given reason for their ban?

Understanding motels as "non-places" or "pseudo-places" does not only mean to disregard such performative practices, but also to assume that places are only imaginable as entities that have existed for ever. Denying the motel the quality of a "real" place because of its reductionist structures, its lack of pretentious signs of "individuality" and paraphernalia, means to limit sociality, individuality, communication, and the production of culture and history to the well-off upper middle class. However, if one tries to read the indicators of sociality, individuality, communication, culture, and history of the classes of lower income, it becomes perceptible that culture is not only a product which originates from the upper class and is performed in their carefully maintained "real" places. If one understands – as Helge Mooshammer (2005) does in his study on place-making in the context of queer cruising – the place as a "product of ongoing but discontinuous registrational processes and social practices, and not as an a priori entity" (18), one cannot consider motels as "unreal", but only as "real" places[8]. If one, furthermore, agrees with Mooshammer that "a place cannot be understood as a composition

[7] Accommodating couples with obvious intimate intentions was not always against the interests of motel operators. This is shown by the survey of Hooker (1936: 14–15) among motel proprietors and employees in the 1930s. According to that, the broad majority of the moteliers interviewed preferred "couple trade" to tourist trade. The reason for this preference was that rooms let to tourists were occupied the whole night, whereas lovers left the motel after a relatively short time. Therefore, it was possible to rent a room not only once a night, but several times within 24 hours (up to 16 times, as one of the motel owners stated) and to increase the profitability of the business.

[8] All of Mooshammer's quotes are translated from German by the authors.

of solid matter, determined by markers, cartography, and description or, in short, as a representation of a place that can be entirely captured, but as an arena that is produced and laid out anew through the thoughts, emotions, and activities of its protagonists" (92), one cannot finally think about motels as "pseudo-places", and Augé's concept as well as any other approach aiming to point out the inferiority of both the motel and all the practices happening during a motel stay must be queried.

The appropriation of time and space, however, may not be limited to guests. It is also practiced by those who spend their entire or parts of their working lives offering motel accommodation services, and who are leaving their marks by both performative and representative moments: A special freezer in the courtyard which is meant to serve as a communal bait storage for the fishermen who frequently stay at a motel in Marathon (Key Islands, Florida) and fishing tackle for guests who spontaneously decide to try their luck as fishermen indicate that the operators apparently care about the needs of their guests and try to provide something that makes a difference from reductionist standardization. The carefully folded towels on top of the bed cover decorated with a single use shower cap and a package of soap and body lotion show that, even within the context of a highly rationalized work routine, there can be signs of an at least rudimentary developed personalization of what seems to be impersonal at first glance. The decoration of a rundown motel in a rural area in Colorado which refers to the local wildlife and a hand-written sign next to the road stating "Hunters welcome" signals that the operator is trying to communicate with his (potential) guests by personalizing the premises. The hand-written message, "Welcome to our Motel, your housekeeper has been Natalia. Thank you for staying with us. Enjoy your visit" can be seen as a means of "fishing for tips", but is, nonetheless, proof that highly standardized surroundings do not necessarily lead to non-communication and individualization.

Those who deny the motel the qualities of a "true place" do not only ignore those little representative signs of the presence of society, culture, history, and communication, but also neglect them, as they may seem marginal in comparison with more tangible signs in "real" hotels. Each one in his or her own way – Augé, Relph, Clifford, and Morris – has adopted conservative cultural critique when questioning that the motel has the quality of being a place. From the context of the middle classes, they have selected idealized places to be the standard for the evaluation of any space without acknowledging that it was this highly rationalized accommodation system that made the diffusion of the cultural good "car journey" possible. In their critique of the places of (super)modernity, the authors mentioned above are actually criticizing modernization of economy and society, and bemoaning that traditional better forms of accommodation have become the victim of those which are considered inferior. By emphasizing the fleeting momentum of the motel in this cultural critique, the bourgeois ideal of the stable and the settled, or at least the tasteful slowness, becomes obvious. In the case of this ideal being in danger, there is a fear of loss of history, identity, and direct communication; and this fear is projected onto the space itself, denying its quality of being a place. Looking at performative practices, fleeting conversions, and indications of "being there" between arrival and departure, however, one finds that there are history, identity, and interaction between people in a "non-place" like the motel – something which, according to Augé's reflection, should not exist there.

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AGATA STANISZ

Three Square Metres. About Fieldwork on the Road and Experience of Total Intimacy

On the 30th July 2011 around 8 p.m., for the first time in my life I got into the cab of a tractor unit, or an TIR for research and academic reasons.[1] I got off the truck on 20th August at 7.30 a.m. I spent three weeks in the driver's cab, sharing three square metres with my key informer, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. It was a mobile pilot study on Polish drivers of long-haul trucks transporting any type of goods in Western Europe. I repeated the research two more times from 18th to 31st December 2011 and from 30th June to 23rd July 2012. This article is mainly a reflection on the first trip.[2]

[1] The Polish name for an HGV is "tir", which has two meanings. Firstly, "TIR" is a French abbreviation for Transport International Routier (International Road Transport), which is a name for an international customs convention from 14th November 1975 concerning international transport of goods with trucks. The convention made it possible to simplify the procedures on border crossings and in customs offices in order to make road transport more efficient. Secondly, "tir" (HGV) in Polish colloquially denotes a large goods vehicle used in international transport of goods, usually consisting in a tractor unit and a trailer. Initially, the name only referred to vehicles that actually operated according to the convention on common transit, but later it gained a new meaning and became a Polish synonym of a truck. However, Polish tractor unit drivers do not use this name for their vehicles and being called "tirowiec" ("a tir driver") is treated as offensive.

[2] The documentation on the research (field notes, photographs and audio recordings) was prepared and shared on the webpage: http://transportodrone.tumblr.com (accessed 01.01.2015).

Shortly after it was finished, I defined this specific type of fieldwork as an experience of total intimacy. This experience is conceptually connected to one of the key categories of cultural anthropology referred to as the field. Traditionally, the field denotes a foreign and far-away territory in contrast to the daily environment of the researcher. It requires physical movement and creation of borders, which define a specific research area. Its description also consists of the notions of experience in time and contingency. This research form results from post-colonial processes, which created a division between closer areas (Europe) and exotic areas (other continents) (see: Clifford, Marcus 1986; Dresch, James 2000: 109–128; Gupta, Ferguson 1997). Nowadays, fieldwork is also explained as, for example, developing knowledge, involvement, cooperation or coexistence (e.g. Buliński, Kairski 2011). If we interpret these processes literally, in this specific case they happened much faster and were maximised. During my research, it was virtually impossible to create distance and a typical opposition "me – my informer". No ethnographic techniques could be in any way hidden. For this reason, in my article I focus on the notion of total intimacy conditioned most of all by spatial characteristics of the field (even though it was on the move). I consider it from the perspective of bodily rituals (hygiene, physiology, metabolism), (physical and psychological) intimacy in a closed space, apparent mobility and space management. I aim at describing this research situation in such a way as to draw attention to the problem of subjectification and exaggeration of field experience in terms of psychophysical states and conditions, as well as to the process of acquisition of socio-cultural competences characteristic of the environment that I studied. My other goal is to ask a question about the mobility of long-haul drivers, who are the main performers of international transport.

Research

The described research was a pilot study on Polish truck drivers employed by international companies localised and dealing with forwarding in Western Europe. It was connected with a search of a new research subject that would differ from family and kinship studies, which until then had been the main areas of my academic work. Their aim was not only to find a research field which could be the subject of a long-term study, but also one which would allow to use the methodological perspectives that had been nagging at me for some time: the anthropology of senses (Classen

1997: 401–412; Stoller 1997), acoustemology (Feld 1982), mobility, multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1989: 7–30, 1995: 95–117), and the theoretical perspectives connected to physical work, industrialness, road infrastructure and transport. I decided to make a study in a field unknown to me, different from any I had experienced in every aspect, from the lack of permanent geographic location to both extreme conditions of work and daily life, and difficult relations awaiting me: relations within an almost completely masculinised environment. This decision overlapped with a change in my approach to ethnographic research as a whole, mainly the psychological and emotional aspect. This was my first fieldwork where I decided not to hide my views and lifestyle, including the way I dress, my bodily rituals, taste for music, temper or other extra-anthropological interests. I wanted to avoid a situation when my priority would be gaining information, not my own good. This approach seemed right to me in the context of research in an environment where I would not be able to hide my otherness (especially the one caused by my gender), which, I knew, could generate controversy.

Fieldwork I wanted to conduct had to be planned logistically in such a way as to allow me to work with different research and documentation techniques. I assumed that the most effective solution would be to travel with one driver hired abroad and working periodically in shifts, who I could observe from the moment he started preparing for the departure till he set off. The option to temporarily live in a tractor unit cab with one driver seemed the safest and the most convenient taking into consideration the documentation method that I had chosen (photographs and recordings), which required a lot of electronic equipment. Already at this level, the conflicting nature of my chosen field became visible: it was constantly on the move and changed its geographic location, but at the same time it was stationary (Stanisz 2012: 7–18).

I chose a driver working for an international forwarding company with branches in Denmark, Germany, Norway and Poland. He had an interesting biography of an economic migrant, was ready to cooperate with me and we had already known each other. The company which employs him has its headquarters in Denmark and employs more than a hundred Polish drivers.[3] It has a family-oriented approach to taking pas-

[3] Most of the drivers come from the western regions of Poland, from the West Pomerania and Lubuskie Provinces and, more rarely, the Lower Silesia Province (usually they are

sengers. The drivers can take companions, especially during the holiday time. They are usually their family members: children, wives, fiancées, partners, nephews, nieces, and sometimes even mothers.

My first research trip, which is going to be the main focus of this article, took place in July 2011. Geographically, it was limited to Denmark and north-west Germany. The transport had a transit and convoy character. Its nature and course transpired to be completely different from what I had assumed and all of my beliefs about the work of tractor unit drivers turned out to be absolutely inadequate to the situation I experienced. I spent most of the time on three square metres inside the tractor unit cab, which was usually localised on different types of car parks (sometimes those on motorways, very rarely in long-haul transport centres, more often on the so-called "dzikusy" ("savages"), i.e. forest car parks located along national roads without any infrastructure), in fields, pastures, outside villages, in river ports, tunnels, on bridges, loading and unloading sites, inside processing plants and factories and on petrol stations. Most of those places I had not associated with the daily life of truck drivers as I was convinced that their work mainly took place on the main and the most effective transport channels, i.e. motorways.

The mentioned transit nature of the transport stemmed from the fact that the company's forwarding activities were seasonal. This was the time when fruit for processing (blueberries, blackberries and apples) was harvested. The fruit were collected in Northern Denmark directly from farmers (who actually employ only migrants, mainly Poles), transported to warehouses localised on Funen Island and then to a processing plant in north-west Germany. Additionally, the transport had a form of a convoy. It was a group of trucks going together formed mainly for logistic reasons and for safety. The transport of fruit for processing (mainly for extracts) was problematic because juices were leaking from the fruit and smudged the road, parking places and river ferry surfaces. Forming a convoy was particularly important in view of the fact that the loaded fruit sometimes significantly exceeded the allowed ton-

from villages or small towns). They have been economic migrants for many years now in the countries of Western Europe and mainly have experience as physical workers. In Poland, many of them generally worked in the transport industry: they used to be engine drivers or taxi drivers. The drivers who I met are between 30 and 60 years of age, they are all married and have children.

nage[4]. Group transport decreased the probability that the driver would be stopped by the police and fined.

The pattern of this transport type was heavily dependent on some external factors, especially the weather conditions which decided whether fruit was collected at all. During my research, the harvest was irregular due to frequent and heavy rains. Consequently, most of the time the convoy, which was supposed to move, stayed in one place. The most extreme stop (so-called "pause") was in a warehouse area in a small Danish village and lasted for 5 days. The bad weather conditions during the time when I was doing my research, and the holiday time causing a decrease in Western Europe international transport dynamics (i.e. fewer orders), brought about a situation in which the experience of mobility and being constantly on the move that I had expected turned into waiting, staying in one place, pausing and doing nothing.

However, the pilot study actually gave me a wealth of potential fields of study: from bodily rituals and gender through work ethos and economics to emigration and transnationalism. I also successfully tested the assumptions of anthropology of sound and the wider anthropology of senses. The daily lives of long-haul truck drivers revealed a field where sounds, tastes, smells and motor experiences influence how we experience and negotiate space, human relations, social and cultural identities. In other words, research areas became much wider than those that I had assumed I would study. I had an opportunity to observe a multicultural environment of workers in factories, processing plants, foundries, warehouses, farms and of course truck drivers from the whole Europe. Generally, I could observe the dynamics of economic migration in Western Europe.

Understandably, I set off into this mobile fieldsite with some preconceptions and a roughly shaped conceptual line, not with a cohesive project. I treated the first trip described in the article as an undertaking aimed at searching new anthropological interests. Most of what I had thought turned out to be wrong in spite of the fact my expectations were shaped by stories of truck drivers which I had heard before. These narrations were usually in the form of anecdotes, sometimes stereotypical or

[4] The total tonnage of the unit, the trailer and the load altogether should not exceed 40 tons (depending on the trailer's load-carrying capacity). The transported load exceeded the norm by a few tons.

sensationalised, which was important from the perspective of processes leading to the creation of image and professional drivers' group identity. The narrations often turned out to be exaggerated. I assumed that I would deal with a culture on the road, mobile and multi-sited ethnography, and then use them as methodological assumptions to create "a new HGV anthropology" or "anthropology on the road".

However, I was actually very rarely on the road. Mobility was rather substituted by immobility and stagnation. The idea of multi-sited ethnography became shaky as the fieldwork often turned out to be limited to three square metres of the cab space and the truck drivers' work mainly consisted in pausing and waiting for further instructions, loading, unloading, documents, ending a pause, all in car parks, bushes, in the middle of a field, industrial zones, on loading platforms, in queues, on ferries, customs borders etc. (see also Creighton 2005).

I spent time only with men (I had a chance to talk to a woman only once – it was a Danish farmer who invited me to her house). They were drivers, factory, processing plant and warehouse workers employed in the places where we loaded and unloaded the transported goods. I observed men. I walked with them, ate and drank with them. I exchanged pirated films with them, talked to them and sometimes took photographs of them. I observed how they worked, paused, what they wore, ate and how they managed time. They treated me in various ways: on the one hand, as a sexual object belonging to, as one of the drivers called it, the "alien" sex and, on the other hand, by mistake, as a driver who was equal to them. The subject of masculinity, or the wider subject of male worlds and work ethos, was the one I had thought would be the most distinctive. However, it had a different quality to it than I had expected. My expectations and ideas were imbued with stereotypes concerning truck drivers. In fact, I was mistaken as to their age, appearance, behaviours and undertaken activities. The world I was immersed in turned out to be simpler and not as filled with nuances as I could have expected. The fact that the field and everything that happened there was uncomplicated and static made me realise how often anthropological interpretation exaggerates, distorts things and makes them exotic although they are not as sophisticated and ambiguous as we would like them to be. This happens mostly in order to make this knowledge more attractive.

Localised field on the move

A multi-faceted understanding of anthropology leads to it being summarised as: practising theory (Herzfeld 2001), experience (Hastrup 1995; Turner, Bruner 1986), interpretation (Geertz 2000) and reflection (Buraway 2003: 645–679; Clifford, Marcus 1986; Davies 2008; Geertz 1990; Scholte 1974: 430–457) or developing field knowledge (Buliński, Kairski 2011). Mysteriousness and ambiguity of this discipline interpreted in such a way increases the tendency to search for its characteristic features in fieldwork and the so-called field. The field, being an effect of seemingly distanced and objective reflection after a concluded research, is characterised by a multitude of meanings, which should be treated as a result of the fact that anthropologists pursue "their own anthropologies" in many ways. The concept of a field is, therefore, dependent on work in other study fields and heterogenic communities, the use of certain research techniques, methodological assumptions, localisation of ethnographic activities in different areas, contexts, and the use of various interpreting, analytical and theoretical strategies. The field can also be understood as a process taking place on different levels: intellectual, psychological, emotional and performative, as well as something that can be constructed and negotiated (Clifford, Marcus 1986; Geertz 1990; Okely 1992; Van Maanen 1988).

My fields had always been specifically localised. For example, I carried out fieldwork in a tenement house, in houses and flats of families living in selected cities, in villages located in different communes and districts. In other words, my research until then (material and ideological aspects of creating home, daily lives of Taiwanese students in Poznań, yearly rituals) belonged to the area of "anthropology at home" and had always been specifically localised. I had to go to this so-called field in order to observe, talk and document. Later, I came back in order to reflect upon and analyse this empirical material. Carrying out this research was connected to a long-term process of entering the field, becoming familiar with it, developing my observations, coming back and repetitiveness. The field I am writing about in this article has a different nature, mostly due to its ambiguous and contradictory character. This is because it is mobile and multi-sited and, at the same time, specifically localised. This character of the field significantly influenced my processual understanding of the field studies to date and, most importantly, provoked me to ask questions concerning the practical dimension of multi-sited ethnography, which in the case of tractor unit drivers becomes ambiguous, to say the least.

Delocalisation, motility and simultaneous appearance in many places of various socio-cultural phenomena are nowadays obvious and they have made the traditional way of thinking about the field outdated. Although some researchers still carry out studies in accordance with the traditional patterns, there have appeared some other fields of interest than specifically localised communities. What has also changed is the assumption that an anthropologist studies places, groups of people, and his or her interest lies in observing phenomena, ideas and practices. The field is no longer a geographic area determined in time. It has become a creation of history, politics and the community that inhabits it. Such assumptions have caused researchers to reject the traditional fieldwork model. As a result, they have been forced to search for new ways to find and observe phenomena and social processes. Now, the field does not have only one definition. Depending on their research goals, researchers have to decide about its definition and depth. The field has become a situational and clear category which researchers assume to be their own area of research (Clifford 1992: 96–112; 1997: 185–222).

Field research, which is central to cultural anthropology, is metaphorically described as an immersion in the field. It is the most important and the most effective method to gather information and knowledge through experience and interaction. Of course, the ways anthropology is understood and done have gone through many stages of development and the current one can be treated as relatively stable. However, the complexity of field experiences still remains problematic. There are many individual ways in which one gives substance to the experiences gathered during deep ethnographic research. However, they all reflect the dominating discourses in this discipline. "Setting off" to the field is accompanied by the aura of romanticism and mysticism, as well as hope for traditional empiricism and "authentic" experience controlled with properly used methods, which are supposed to make the research scientifically reliable (see also Jackson 2005). In other words, fieldwork is connected with continuous discovery of personal and professional challenges. Many anthropologists, including me, let themselves be entrapped in phenomenology and psychoanalysis, which can help them understand their field experience although they may be rather dangerous because later such researchers might have a tendency to obscure the studied reality.

In the case of my research, participant observation, which bordered on embarrassing and total intimacy, was a relational process mediated mainly by emotions provoked by my tangible and defined presence in the field (acting and living in the field, even if the field was on the move and multi-sited). These emotions were not only shaped by interactions, but were also decisive in what I learnt in the field and how I learnt it. Thus, I assume that the emotional (and necessarily intersubjective) content of the fieldwork influenced how I gained my knowledge even though this influence could not always be consciously controlled.

Until the 1970s there were few works on field experience and emotions. Observation was prioritised at the time. Only later did anthropologists start to simultaneously experience and observe not only other people in the field, but also themselves (Tedlock 1991:69). Of course, this passage from objectifying to intersubjective methodologies led to changes in representations created by ethnographers. In the anthropological literature there appeared reflections that could sometimes border on philosophising (Tedlock 2000:471), which somewhat mystified the fieldwork.

In 1970, Morris Freilich published a work entitled *Marginal Natives at Work* that heralded the general interest of anthropologists in fieldwork culture, which was developing at the time. In his work, Freilich mentioned a few reasons why field and field experience were mystified. Those were among others: no consensus as to whether anthropology is a science, treating fieldwork as a private matter which happens mainly between the anthropologist and the studied subject, or the pressure on the studies to be more effective that causes a lot of information to be gathered without any consideration as to how it is gathered (Freilich 1970: 15). Freilich offered a solution to the mystification of fieldwork. According to him, some fundamental (actually quite obvious) rules should be developed, e.g. standardisation and repeatability of research techniques. At the same time, he was aware of how significant the psychological processes are and he posed a question as to how the anthropologist's internal experiences influence the gathered data and their analysis, and how research process should be described in general (Freilich 1970: 17). Freilich's scientific optimism, which made him claim that it was enough to describe the studied reality as it actually is, was rather naive.

More or less at the same time, the autoreflexive approach appeared in the discipline. Towards the end of the 1970s, Paul Rabinow in his book Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco (1977) described his own field experiences and negated the scientific style of creating anthropological representations and interpretations. Then, in 1980, Vincent Crapanzano in *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan* declared an ethnographic meeting and the process of knowledge creation to be a kind of a subjective dialogue. Thus, he criticised the limiting objectivism. When *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Clifford, Marcus 1986) and *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (Marcus, Fisher 1986) were published, anthropologists became more and more engaged in gaining knowledge from experience and describing it in various ways. Many anthropologists decided to write papers whose narration had a character of a confession, others emphasised understanding how the researcher's subjectivity, experiences and proximity during the fieldwork can lead to valuable observations and ethnographic knowledge.

Although already in the middle of the 1990s a substantial amount of literature of this type was being created, Kirsten Hastrup and Peter Hervik (1994:1) stated in *Social Experience and Anthropological Knowledge* that the way field experience develops knowledge still remains unclear. They also pointed to some difficulties concerning expressing such an experience in a written form due to the tension between rationality or objectivity, which could guarantee the method's scientific values but were often treated too radically, and subjectivity or intuition, which were a postmodernist contradiction to realism but were thought to be too extreme. Due to this tension, understanding ethnographic internationalisation and getting gradually acquainted with practices is still not analytical enough (Hastrup and Hervik 1994: 7). As a remedy to this situation, the authors proposed to take such an anthropological reflection which would corroborate the legitimacy of anthropological expertise and reject both positivist approach to observation and the romantic characteristics of participation. Kirsten Hastrup (1995:15–16) indicated that the nature of field experience brings about a solution to the subject-object opposition causing the so-called truth to become an intersubjective creation and anthropology to become a radical interpretation.

In scientific publications, the knowledge based on fieldwork may be shaped by both moral and methodological fears, which can result from a conscious protection of the research subjects and the researchers.

However, some details of the research process can remain outside ethics, which is probably best exemplified by Michael Herzefeld's cultural intimacy (1997). Probably most anthropologists would agree that there is a (personal, moral, methodological, theoretical and political) value of understanding how knowledge is gained by field experiences. The need to understand them as methodologically and theoretically adequate is becoming more and more significant, which has caused anthropology to open to completely new research subjects. For example, anthropologists start making more systematic analyses of how their behaviours, thoughts, feelings, memory, fascinations, ideas and emotional states can influence the process of gathering, analysing and describing data (Luhrmann 1991; Jackson 1989; Crapanzano 1980). The importance of analysing fieldwork experiences is reflected in numerous publications, especially those concerning psychological, medical and phenomenological anthropology. The book *Emotions in the Field: the Psychology and Anthropology of Fieldwork Experience* (Davies, Spencer 2010), for instance, opts for coming back to radical empiricism. Another anthropologist – Michael Jackson states that empirical research field consists of various experiences, regardless of whether they are classified as individual or social, theoretical or practical, subjective or objective, mental or physical (Jackson 1996:7). According to Jackson (1989, 1998), the empirical approach concentrates on the relations between people, things, concepts and the environment, and all these can be also observed from the psychological perspective (Davies, Spencer 2010).

The description of a field that was mobile and at the same time had a very specified location, which I present in this article, can be interpreted as keeping to the rules of "scientific" research experience. What I needed to do first and foremost was to define the field. Due to its assumed mobile and multi-sited character, the key step turned out to be emphasising the interactional content of the research, i.e. the relation (which at least involved some emotional connection) and direct contact (multi-sensory and most often physical) between me and my driver and the rest of the economic migrant environment (drivers, workers etc.). As a result, the field that I had chosen still had its "location" and was always localised somewhere, mostly in human bodies. Nevertheless, the experience that I gathered when conducting my studies on tractor unit drivers made me doubt whether the field is as negotiable as I had thought before. The study procedure that I adopted did not allow me to negotiate roles, and separate the private from the observed. There was no time or space for that. Close, intimate and often embarrassing coexistence with my key informer – my driver, interlocutor, cabmate and to some extent, associate, was inevitable in the studies I conducted. Everything that we did had to be connected, regardless of what and when it took place and how we did it.

The three-metre space of the tractor unit cab, although closed, physically allowed me to make observations from a high and wide-angled perspective. I did not only observe the places that we passed, but also buildings and people working in monitored industrial zones with very limited access (e.g. factories, foundries, processing plants, forwarding centres) (see also Urry 1999). There were also other consequences of conducting research in a small, cramped place which was on the move and constantly changed its geographic location. Most of all, there was no possibility to take a break from interactions between the researcher and the research subject. We were both forced to accept completely different priorities stemming from our professions: a tractor unit driver on the one hand and an anthropologist on the other hand.

This lack of time and space to negotiate the rules governing this relation I treat as demystification of the field as a process since it underwent compression. In practice, it meant I had to enter the field instantly. The idea to study truck drivers came to me in June 2011. I went to the field a month later. I did not have a opportunity to observe it in detail before and see what it was like. I only had some preconceptions about it. The field understood as co-habitation, cooperation and coexistence instantly materialised and the concept of participant observation was assigned a new meaning. This three-metre field made me become suspicious of participant observation. The cab was, of course, a part of my field, but a part which I had to stay in all the time. Participation and the said observation were so intensive that the traditional definition of this research technique did not seem to be enough. The notion that describes that specific 24-hour state the best is, in my opinion, total intimacy: bodily, emotional, intellectual, ritualised and daily intimacy, especially as regards actions and reactions connected with work.

In anthropology, the notion of intimacy is associated with Michael Herzfeld's concept (cultural intimacy). I borrowed it from him for a few reasons (Herzfeld 1997). Firstly, cultural intimacy seems to have the key importance in the relations between drivers who I had a chance to meet, observe, talk to and who I was forced to spend time with. Their relations are characterised by cordiality, which I could also identify myself with to some extent, if we take into consideration only national or cultural keys. We significantly differed in everything else: our sex, age, education and economic status. Secondly, this total intimacy, familiarity and closeness describe my field the best. Experiencing three square metres involves some level of embarrassment caused by lack of any type of privacy: from the emotional to the physical one. Me and the driver sensed each other's emotions without any difficulty, even if we did not want to. They were often manifested with our bodies: the way we talked, reacted, our gestures or other uncontrollable behaviours connected with metabolism or physiology. It was impossible to have any individual, personal privacy. It existed only in the "me–him" configuration, which we sometimes could protect from an unwanted intrusion of people from the outside of our cab. This, however, was also hardly possible most of the time.

This small and mobile field moving on the road and always making stops along the road, allowed me to experience to an almost full extent what drivers experience in their work: their professional daily lives, which, as is usually assumed, are mobile and multi-sited. These experiences were very intensive perceptively since they consisted of a multitude of distinctive, multisensory stimuli that could not be avoided in any way. These were the sounds which the western culture identifies as noises: hums, whirrs, all types of drones, pitter-patter, hissing; smells of bodies, trucks, machines, the carried load, places and work carried out in those places; tastes of specific food (literally "home", or even nationalised, food as the drivers eat home-like food, e.g. the Polish drivers eat hunter's dish, poppy-seed dumplings, cutlets, stuffed cabbage, pancakes, pork chops, soups and vegetable salads); bodily experiences: from temperature through wavy motion, vibrations, jerking, tilting from jumping on the trailer in order to take the carried goods; images of never-ending motorways, national roads, car parks which we passed, bridges, industrial zones, fields and flickering lights. This unavoidable existence in the centre of the reality which I wanted to be my new study field allowed me to observe everything very closely (micro/zoom perspective), in a kind of embarrassing way, sometimes difficult to endure, complicating the research process and changing my perception of this process. The field forced me to ask some questions concerning how, in anthropology, it is often mystified, overinterpreted and assigned additional meanings (in terms of situations, relations and actions). If those meanings were to be explained scientifically, they would have to match some theories and notions, which unnecessarily complicates many things that are actually simple and one-dimensional.

Tractor unit space management: things and bodies

Spatiality, ergonomics and comfort provided by the unit depends on the make of a truck. Makes differ in terms of seat and bed construction, window tinting, number and availability of compartments, quality of air conditioning, heating and the sound system, shock absorption and lighting. During my studies, I lived and travelled in a Volvo cab, which could be described as comfortable if two adults had not co-habited in it. The most problematic aspects turned out to be the fridge, which was too small, and scarcity of compartments. This generated constant mess, which (especially towards the end of the trip) led to conflicts between me and the driver. My tendency to overproduce rubbish and messiness caused by taking too much luggage (clothes, shoes, cosmetics, books and most of all electronic equipment) were quickly revealed. Some objects turned out to be particularly out of place, for example, an umbrella and a tripod, which could not be hidden anywhere and had to be constantly moved from one place to another. There was also a problem with my cowboy boots, because they carried a lot of mud into the cab when I was wearing them, which spoilt its home-like character.

A tractor unit cab consists of the driver's and passenger's seats, a bunk bed and a complex dashboard. Although it is cramped and small, it is suitable to be divided into specialised zones. Apart from the sleeping zone, the key zone was a "large" area between the seats. The distance between them, although it was only one metre long, was crucial when some tensions or conflicts appeared. And those were inevitable. We also used this zone for preparing food, i.e. cooking, cutting etc., it served as an IT centre where we could hardly find room for our laptops that we used for navigation and listening to music. The seats, of course, were our work stations.

Although at the beginning the driver and I established how to organise our things in an orderly way, we were not able to adhere to this agreement in practice. Since I had more things than the driver, I inadvertently took over the cab space, destroying the previously established order. Each time we wanted to control the chaos that I caused, we utterly failed. The things I needed for work were everywhere. I had to have my equipment and notebook at my disposal. I was doing my job constantly, regardless of whether the cab was on the move or not. I documented everything with my tools (field notes, the researcher's notebook, in this case taking the form of letters, which I later folded into ships, photographs, video and audio recordings). What particularly clattered our space were suitcases, bags and backpacks, which we had to keep on our beds during the day and on the seats at night. Other things that caused disorder were towels and washed underwear. They were doubled in number and thus exacerbated the feeling of discomfort. We took our bedclothes and a carpet with us. A carpet carries a symbolic value for many drivers as they feel that "if there is a carpet, there is home". Therefore, the carpet always had to be clean, meaning it could not have any crumbles. There were many objects that we shared: cosmetics, dishes, food and virtual goods, such as films, music and computer games.

What can be gathered from the description so far is that, to some extent, our seats and beds were the most personal places for us. Naturally, when we were on the move, the driver's seat was always taken by the driver and the passenger's seat – by me. However, we did sometimes sit in each other's places. Whenever I could, I sat on the driver's seat. This seat was air-cushioned, so I often reduced its pressure: just for my pleasure and to make my audio recordings. For comfort, I also adjusted the height of the seat and its angle, which again caused chaos in the driver's ordered world. On the other hand, the driver sat on my seat whenever I left the cab, even if it was only for a few minutes. He moved my things, e.g. the notebook, the recorder or my clothes. For a driver, the passenger's seat is associated with leisure. For him, this seat is not connected with work, serves as a kitchen and a kind of a "living room" where he can watch films, eat his food and observe what is happening outside without being disturbed. Therefore, my presence significantly affected the typical routine of the person who had decided to take part in my research.

That chaos that I caused was very troublesome for my driver and it disturbed the established order of the cab life that he cyclically reproduced. Drivers working for the company which owned the tractor unit I lived in, work shifts. They go on four or five-week routes and then they spend a week at home. After the break, they hardly ever get on the same truck again. The trucks are not assigned to one driver, so every time they come back to work drivers have to organise their cabs from scratch. Drivers treat cabs like home, so they always fill them with the same objects, which is supposed to evoke a feeling of being at one's own place. Hence, cabs contain bedclothes, carpets, teddy bears, family photos, TVs and all kinds of decorations. The things that drivers take with them need to have their own place. They are properly sorted and put into pre-established compartments. Treating the cabs like home or a living space is manifested in certain behaviours and habits. You can never enter a cab with your shoes on. Shoes have to be left on the stairs and the inside of the cab is always tidied up and cleaned. The mess that I brought in with me to his world, made it impossible for the driver to recreate this space of a home cab, which he was used to doing. In other words, he could not completely take over the cab.

It is possible to achieve some privacy in the cab if one separates oneself from the external world with special curtains which can be pulled across all the windows. Curtains are an important element of communication between drivers and drivers with the police. Closed curtains mean it is time for a pause and relax. This is when the police has no right to disturb a driver. It is also a sign for others that the driver does not want to communicate with anybody (he is not in the mood for conversations, visits or car park feasts). I kept forgetting about this rule, or ignored it on purpose, because my goal was to observe everything that was happening outside. I also needed light to take my notes, read and update my audio-visual material. As a result, in my part of the cab the curtains were opened and in the driver's part they were drawn. This generated an ambiguous signal for other drivers resulting in frequent visits.

Most of the time, me and the driver were together. We were literally at arm's length. We separated when the goods were loaded and unloaded. Whenever I could, i.e. in those places where OHS rules were less restrictive, I observed loading and unloading at close proximity, sometimes attempting to help the driver, for example, by opening and closing the door, latching and unlatching the tarpaulin, securing and unsecuring the goods with spansets, securing the sides of the trailer with special crossmembers. However, more often than not, I was a prisoner in the cab during loading and unloading, especially in German industrial zones where one has to wear a special outfit, which I did not have on my first trip (helmet, safety vest, steel nose safety boots).

I spent most of the obligatory pauses with my driver, both during and outside his working hours. The possibility to go for a walk was rather limited due to strong winds and rains. Many places where we parked were simply not appropriate for walks. Others generated some embarrassing situations for me connected to physiological needs, especially at the beginning of the trip and when we were pressed for time.

I woke up, put my clothes on and ate breakfast with my driver. Then we impatiently waited for the instructions from the dispatcher. Together we cooked dinners, went shopping, watched films, observed others and solved problems which constantly appeared en route. We also partied with other drivers and used hot-spots together. My driver accompanied me when I talked to other drivers. Therefore, familiarity and intimacy between us had to appear very quickly. There was no other possibility since we spent together 24 hours a day sharing such a small space. Striving for one's privacy, which in other conditions would be quite obvious, in this case was practically impossible. All types of bodily rituals, for example those connected with grooming (brushing teeth, cutting nails, brushing hair, squeezing pimples, shaving, cleaning ears etc.) had to be neutralised and shifted to the level of a family relation, in particular the relation between a father and a daughter, which is culturally deprived of any sexual undertones.

The daily life of long-haul drivers mainly consists in work, eating, sleeping and sometimes entertainment. My driver obviously had to change his daily routine, especially as regards the way he prepared food and its amount, as well as the entertainment. It is a mistake to think that truck drivers' work is limited only to driving. Most drivers, with some exceptions, also load and unload the goods themselves. The goods have to be properly secured, depending on their size, value, state of matter and requirements laid down by the company who employs the forwarding company. The obligations which are most stressful and problematic for drivers are their administrative duties: filling in appropriate documents, negotiating in offices, and establishing addresses as those provided by dispatchers are often wrong.

I accompanied the driver by doing my own work: observing, taking notes, reading, talking, taking photographs and recordings. Similarly to me when I was interfering in his work trying to help him or do something for him, my driver also tried to streamline the completion of my project. Sometimes he disturbed my rhythm of work, distracted me, made it impossible to make up-to-date analyses or read books. However, he also often talked to other drivers about my project instead of leaving it to me, he told them who I was, brought up different conversation subjects he rightly thought to be interesting for me. He accompanied me every step of the way, took part in every conversation, by which he demonstrated his care over me. This is how I avoided many dangerous situations, for example, during long pauses when drivers drank a lot of alcohol.

Living in a tractor unit cab that was on the move or parked in places with no infrastructure whatsoever was also a bodily experience. Drivers' metabolism changes when they are on the road and adjusts to extreme conditions. Therefore, drivers rarely excrete, even though they drink and eat a lot when they are driving. They also do not need much sleep. This specific dimension of my research generated the most stress for me. I started the trip with a conviction that physiology would be its most problematic aspect. At the very beginning, it already turned out that our bodies significantly differed in terms of metabolism. Mine worked in a standard way and the driver's automatically adjusted to his working conditions. This generated numerous embarrassing and troublesome situations which would have constituted an emotional and psychological burden if my relations with the driver had not been based on intimacy and cordiality. In such a relation, the feeling of mutual discomfort and disgust with bodily reactions would have been out of place. Thus, the whole issue became neutralised without any verbal negotiations or agreements. This does not mean that each other's bodies were not irritating for us. Their reactions would sometimes cause conflicts. For example, we found annoying some bodily habits manifested with sounds: eating and drinking hot food and beverages that required intensive blowing and slurping, and also some sounds demonstrating pleasure after swallowing food: sighs, or relaxed chomping. There were also the sounds that accompanied boredom: frequent smacking of all sorts, playing with one's saliva, clattering teeth.

Sharing three square metres of space 24/7 did not only lead to systemising our bodily habits, but also created conditions for the development of emotional and psychological connection (see also Beatty 2005: 17-37; Kleinman, Copp 1993). Whether we wanted it or not, the driver and I shared almost all experiences, so the process of entering the field became somewhat compacted. Getting on the cab for the first time, I instantly found myself in the centre of everyday reality of a person whose environment, in particular its socio-cultural dimension, was to become my new research field. As I have already emphasised, the nature of my field excluded any early negotiations and agreements as to role divisions, rules regulating our activities and establishing foundations for our everyday interactions. It was also impossible for me to hide the methods and ways of conducting research. Everything I did, wrote down, recorded or photographed was visible and accessible to my key informer – the person who I was completely dependent on. I had always tried to shorten the distance between me and my research subjects, but in this case it was simply impossible to keep the distance. The only thing we could do was to ignore our own emotional reactions that appeared en route. The psychophysical condition of one person instantly influenced the mood of the other person. Sleep deficiency, stress, boredom, longing, anger or even fury, and some states bordering on sensory deprivation when we paused for a few days, were the feelings and emotions that we both inevitably shared. In time, they brought about numerous tensions leading to unavoidable arguments. Actually, it was a norm for us to be mean to each other, reproach each other, get offended and slam the door behind us to manifest our emotions.

Emotional proximity was inescapable. Towards the end of the trip, we understood each other without having to say a word even though the tension between us was at its peak. After coming back to Poland, we spent together one more day. We could not say our goodbyes and for a long time, I could not get used to the fact that I was back. For the next one and a half a month, I digitised my research and made it public on the Internet. I also kept in touch with other drivers who I had met on the road. In December 2011 and summer 2012, I conducted research which complemented the first pilot study.

What was the result of my pilot study? This extreme ethnographic journey allowed me to design some further journeys, which were much more constructive, theoretically and methodologically polished and where I took into consideration the fact that the so-called mobile field does not always imply multi-sited ethnography (see Stanisz 2013). They also inspired me to start a new research project financed by the National Science Centre, which I am carrying out with professor Waldemar Kuligowski from the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, called "Moving modernisations: Influence of A2 motorway on the local cultural landscapes”[5]. The plethora of subjects that I discovered during my “ethnographic immersion” turned out to be very wide. What I provisionally refer to as “tirowanie” (“HGV-ing”) opened an immense and incredibly creative research opportunities for me: from movement and motility, through location-dislocation, globalisation, affiliation, placement-displacement and multiculturalism to the migration dynamics in Western Europe, modernisation, or infrastructure and development policies.

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Motorway, modernisation, culture. Ethnographic reflections

The following article is a result of a field pilot study conducted in multiple locations by students and lecturers from the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań. The study was realised within the framework of the "Moving Modernisations: The Influence of the A2 Motorway on the Local Cultural Landscapes" project and carried out along the A2 motorway (also known as the Freedom Motorway) and along National Road 92 (henceforth DK92), which connects Rzepin with Poznań and Warsaw. The motorway section Świecko-Nowy Tomyśl was opened in 2011, thus connecting Poland to the network of European motorways and improving communications between Poznań and the western border. The opening of the motorway section has also had numerous social, cultural and most importantly, economic consequences for the life of the local community

This is the first report of the research, presenting the experience of a new reality, the ambiguity of the change, the local community's expectations and agency, as well as the emergence of "new poverty" in these areas.

The motorway – unfulfilled hopes of development

We need roads, there's no doubt about that! Every road of this kind (…) *encourages development and tourism in some way.* These words, spoken by the mayor of Szczaniec commune, demonstrate that road construction not only facilitates communications and symbolises the development of the whole country, but also offers a better tomorrow for roadside localities.

During our research we heard about many hopes for the development of localities along the A2. The Freedom Motorway – connecting not only Berlin with Warsaw, but also, in a symbolic sense, the East with the West – was meant to unlock the latent potential of the areas researched by our team. The communes had expected greater revenue and a rise in employment resulting from an influx of investors. The motorway was meant to increase the attractiveness of these areas and contribute to improving their status, both economically and socially. These hopes can be seen in many statements. The head of the village of Bolewice said that

> *The inhabitants were* (…) *convinced that once the motorway was built investors would come* (…) *and this commune would just come to life and, more importantly, our community would come to life, because there is land that can be used.*

A similar statement was made by the secretary of Miedzichowo commune:

> *Oh yes, we had great expectations! In our planning documents, in strategies, good access to transport routes was identified as the strong point of the commune.*

There were hopes for creating logistics bases for vehicles, developing car workshops and expanding facilities that offer services for the maintenance of traffic.

The expectations of local commune mayors and village heads during the planning phase of the A2 construction were related to the responsibility they bore. As one reads on the President of the Republic of Poland's official website[1], "the territorial government authorities on each level of self-government are assigned tasks of high responsibility, and the living standard of the inhabitants of a given region depends on how effectively and professionally these tasks are accomplished". This responsibility, in accordance with Commune Self-Government Act of 8 March 1990, is undertaken by the self-government authorities, as well

[1] http://www.prezydent.pl/ (accessed 30.11.2014).

Figure 1. The garden figures shop, national road no. 92, Miedzichowo, Greater Poland Vovoideship, 2014 (photo by Waldemar Kuligowski)

as the government and self-government administrative bodies on the territory of the province.

It can be assumed that hopes for change were boosted by developmental discourses, that reached Poland at some point. The supposed ultimate purpose of every initiative, every novelty, every new construction site even, is "development", perceived not only as a means to a goal, but also as a goal in itself (Cowen, Shenton 1995: 28). Unfortunately, the projects which arouse such expectations are often developmental by name only and big dreams turn into dust. A newly-built motorway will not necessarily attract investors or improve the locality's status. The uncertainty of hope is emphasised in the developmental discourse where positive and constructive elements often go hand in hand with negative moments of destruction and disruption (Cowen, Shenton 1995: 30).

In the course of our research we have observed the dark side of the developmental project. We have heard many bitter words. A2 was constructed, but no miracle took place in the nearby localities. In fact, the new motorway made the situation worse. By taking over passenger car traffic from DK92 it reduced the revenue of small companies and sole traders. Some hotels, en route bars and restaurants, petrol stations and the so-called garden gnome shops, which had existed for many years, were closed. Some inhabitants indeed found a job in motorway service, but their number is so insignificant that the overall balance is negative. The already quoted secretary of Miedzichowo commune concludes:

> *Unfortunately, as far as economic infrastructure is concerned in the last two or three years we have not seen any significant changes in the number of new business entities that could base their activity on transit.*

Why has it been so? The reason that was given most often is that the planned interchanges and junctions were not built. As the mayor of Szczaniec said:

> *They are included in the description of the project and the building permit, but for various reasons, which were a bit, as they say, political, they were postponed for a later stage* (…) *it resulted from a change in, as they call it, political constellations.*

This situation is disadvantageous not only to the locals, but also investors from Poznań, Wrocław and Włocławek, who have already purchased land in the areas seen as attractive on the basis of the plan. One of the businessmen who has managed a hotel and restaurant in Brójce by DK92 for many years commented on the situation as follows:

> *In my opinion* (…) *these junctions were 'slashed' mostly due to the fact that the areas around the interchanges planned for investment were purchased by the wrong people, who were not associated with Kulczyk*[2] *and the whole pack* (…) *With the hierarchy of power in this country, if something is profitable to someone at the top, everything will be alright. If the top is not interested, you may scream, write, take action, you can be in the right – nothing will be done.*

The communes which are disappointed with the motorway try to take the matters in their own hands. Several agritourism farms and a few kilometres of biking routes were created in Miedzichowo, and a wicker trail is currently being built there. In Szczaniec there were attempts to

[2] Jan Kulczyk is the richest Polish businessman and the leader in foreign business operations in Poland. He is active in Europe, Africa and South America. His well-known ventures include: Kulczyk Investment House, the Wielkopolska Motorway and Nowa Sarzyna CHP. In Africa he is best known for Ophir Energy, a company on the London Stock Exchange, which specialises in searching for hydrocarbons in deepwater.

launch a wind plant project, but it was not accepted. The inhabitants try to deal with the new reality, but without the cooperation of those "at the top" it is difficult to achieve anything. As one of the interviewees jokingly summed up: *Sure there is potential here* (…) *there has always been and every government had their mouths full of potential* (…) *but somehow or other* (…) *none of this has happened.*

The motorway: symbolic extraterritoriality

If someone enters 'our' territory and builds there a motorway ('for us'), should they take our presence into account when deciding how the motorway should be managed? The answer is yes. However, the reality observed in the course of our research provides a negative answer. Aspects of extraterritoriality of the A2 area will be presented on the basis of two cases: the public event that marked the opening of the Freedom Motorway and the daily life in Chociszewo, a village located by the new motorway, approximately halfway between Świebodzin and Nowy Tomyśl.

Słownik Języka Polskiego [The Dictionary of Polish] defines extraterritoriality as "excluding individuals representing other states or objects belonging to other states from the jurisdiction of a given state."[3] The term, undoubtedly much more complex than this definition, will be understood here, however, as a symbolic notion rather than a historical term of international law. During the interviews conducted for the research the word extraterritoriality was used, but it was also understood in a simplified, almost informal sense.

The motorway section is owned by AWSA II – Autostrada Wielkopolska II SA – "a company deliberately associated with AWSA, established to build and manage the A2 Świecko–Nowy Tomyśl section. Its shareholders are: Kulczyk Holding S.A. (40%), Meridiam A2 West S a.r.l. (40%), Strabag AG (10%) and KWM Investment GmbH (10%)."4 As shown by our pilot research, AWSA II has created an extraterritorial area, where it governs in accordance with its own laws, often reverting to methods of questionable ethics, which will be mentioned later in the paper.

[3] *Słownik Języka Polskiego*, http://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/;2456651 (accessed 24.11.2014).
[4] Strona internetowa www.autostrada-a2.pl/press:106+km+nowej+autostrady+prosto+do+Europy,30 (accessed 24.11.2014).

The detachment of the motorway owners from the local community was perhaps most plainly expressed during the celebration marking the opening of the motorway section. It took place on 30 November on the Trzciel interchange. "The A2 motorway opening ceremony was honoured by eminent Poles", shouts a caption in Nasza Wielkopolska, an online monthly published by a regional organisation Ruch Regionalny Wielkopolan5. Among „eminent Poles" were the incumbent president Bronisław Komorowski, the businessman Jan Kulczyk, and former presidents: Lech Wałęsa and Aleksander Kwaśniewski. What is more, the ceremony included a forty-member orchestra performing a premiere musical piece by the Oscar laureate Jan A.P. Kaczmarek entitled "Fanfares for A2", with the composer himself present as well. All of this would have been splendid, had any of the participants made a slightest attempt to contact the local community. What happened instead on the opening day was that the area within a radius of several hundred metres around the Trzciel interchange was tightly secured by guards, who did not let anyone from the outside (or maybe it is better to say: from the inside) pass. The people living nearby could see the tops of tents from afar, with the consolation prize of listening to distant sounds of a piece composed by the Academy Award winner. In conversations with local people about this event one could sense a feeling of resentment about the way they were treated. What is more, according to the information obtained from a member of the Trzciel Commune Council, none of the civil servants were invited for the event either:

It [the invitation] did not affect us in any way in the Council, as if it had taken place in an extraterritorial area, because it was the motorway territory.

One can treat this comment as a footnote to all narrations that describe the construction of a motorway as a gift to the local people.

The motorway territory separates itself from the landscape with a very clear border: a high fence. And it is the fence that plays a leading role in the story enacted regularly near the already mentioned Chociszewo. According to the data from the Municipal and Commune Office in Trzciel

[5] *Nasza Wielkopolska*, 2013: 120, www.nasza-wielkopolska.eu/old/archiwum/120/120.pdf (accessed 24.11.2014).

Figure 2. McDonalds in Chociszewo/Rogoziniec, motorway A2, Lubusz Voivodeship, 2014 (photo by Agata Stanisz)

the village had 454 inhabitants in 2008[6]. By 2014 the number has fallen significantly: most people left abroad or moved to bigger cities. On a Sunday afternoon the atmosphere in the village was rather peaceful; the landscape with nine large deserted households created a sense of emptiness. The background noise of the incessant movement of trucks on the distant motorway could be heard in the village.

A McDonald's restaurant built a few hundred metres away from their households is quite an attraction for the local people. As a matter of fact, there are two McDonald's – on both sides of the motorway. Located in building complexes with petrol stations, they are part of the Traveller Service Points. Interestingly, they are the only McDonald's restaurants in the area – even including the nearby important hub Świebodzin – and the nearest McDonald's is located in Zielona Góra, 47 km away in a straight line. Here is an excerpt of a press article published on one of

6 Plan odnowy miejscowości Chociszewo na lata 2009–2016; Załącznik nr 1 do Uchwały Rady Miejskiej w Trzcielu, Nr XXXIII/258/09 z dnia 3 grudnia 2009 r.; www.trzciel.pl/files/file_add/download/28_pom-chociszewo-2009-2016pdf (accessed 24.11.2014).

Internet portals: "The new McDonald's venues [emphasis in the original] in Chociszewo and Rogoziniec will be enriched with a separate McCafe coffee house section and a modern playroom for children – Gym&Fun"[7].

The whole complex is fenced with a net and a gate. The problem is that the gate is always locked. As one of 22 Traveller Service Points, the establishment is not accessible to local residents and apart from employees, only those who travel the motorway are eligible to stay there. Young people from the neighbourhood have to jump over the fence in order to enter the place – unless they have a friend on the shift, who, if the matter is arranged beforehand, can sneak them in through the gate. What is more, rumour has it that 'someone' from the motorway side has been lubricating the upper part of the net with used motor oil – to fight 'intruders from the outside'. The elderly generation will not jump over the fence. One of the residents suggested that the local people wish they could simply cycle to the Drive-Thru on a Sunday afternoon, order a take-away and cycle on. But they have no hopes for a dialogue, despite the fact that children from nearby villages would like to go with their parents to the "modern playroom Gym&Fun", a place which is hard to find in rural areas.

In the course of the whole research the opinions voiced during interviews often indicated that the inhabitants of roadside localities treat the motorway as a strange entity coming from outside. This enclosed space managed by its own staff is excluded from the local landscape. And – as the interviewees say – it is also deaf to the voices of alien 'citizens', that is, all those who do not happen to be driving the motorway.

Ecoway

The main advantage of the new motorway is that it improves the standard of travelling in Poland. It satisfies not only national transportation needs, but also transit needs from the West to the East. Furthermore, it has a major impact on the life of the local community. Community in this respect does not mean only people, since the adjacent forests and meadows are inhabited by many animal species.

[7] http://www.portalspozywczy.pl/horeca/wiadomosci/dwie-nowe-restauracje-mcdonalds-przy-autostradzie-a2,63950.html (accessed 24.11.2014).

In their report *Budowa autostrady A2 – zalety i wady dla środowiska naturalnego* [*The construction of the A2 motorway – advantages and disadvantages for the natural environment*], Rozbicka, Suchanek and Łapacz write: "The A2 Świecko – Nowy Tomyśl motorway meets all environmental standards that are in force in the countries of the European Union" (Rozbicka et al. 2011: 38), which means considerable funds have been channelled into environment protection. Further on one may read: "Twenty five per cent of funds in the budget of the investment, that is 1,3bn PLN, were allocated for environmental protection, which is exactly the same amount of money that the state spends on the same purpose every year. The most important factors influencing the overall costs were: constructing an enormous number of animal passages and noise barriers, and restrictions on the extent of construction works in the breeding season. (…) Around 200 animal passages were built altogether, with 35 passages for wild animals along the motorway. One passage costs 20m PLN, which is equivalent to the annual budget of a medium-sized commune in Poland. Animal passages are located approximately every 700 m. Every 2 km there are emergency telephones and environmental protection facilities" (Rozbicka et al. 2011: 38–39).

The list of eco-friendly solutions of this kind goes on and on, but it would be of little relevance here. The important fact is that the entire environmental protection programme designed for the A2 motorway makes it the largest environmental project in Europe (Rozbicka et al. 2011: 39).

There is no doubt that motorways pose a serious obstacle to animal migration. Therefore one can hardly question the reasoning behind building animal passages. But let us look at the matter from the perspective of the local residents, who lived in hope of a better future and higher living standards since the motorway project was created. The interviewed residents often said that there was a bias in favour of nature. This is what a member of the Trzciel Commune Council said about the motorway:

> *Unfortunately the construction of the A2 motorway did not involve constructing other infrastructures that would link it to other route networks. There is still no ring road in Trzciel, they might build it by 2017.*

Later on he gave an example of a village situated by the motorway:

> *Now, we have a village called Lutol Mokry, on the other side of the motorway* (…) *it's a village with a compact layout, which has been waiting for many years*

to have waterworks or optical fibre cables installed. The interchange here is so broad, as if our commune wanted to cross the motorway. When they were building the motorway, they didn't even place a dummy water conduit, something that could be connected later, obviously it could have been done before the motorway's construction. Now if we wanted to launch a water supply we would need to drill through.

As an investment with significant funding from the EU, the motorway should be constructed according to the principle of sustainable development. The Environmental Protection Law defines sustainable development as: "Socio-economic development, in which the process of integrating political, economic and social actions occurs, taking into account preservation of the equilibrium of nature and stability of basic natural processes, to guarantee the possibility of fulfilling basic needs of societies or citizens not only of the present generation, but for future generations as well" (Environmental Protection Law Art. 3, p.50).

One of the local residents, who is professionally active in the environmental protection sector, commented on the issue as follows:

Investments that are carried out in the devastated landscape of western EU states are projected onto our landscape. There is too much fear in treating a construction project as a pest. The EU talks about sustainable development, but in our country it was misunderstood and the emphasis was put mostly on nature. Nature was privileged.

Another local resident, a head of one of the villages, also spoke critically on the subject:

I'll put it this way – it's Natura 2000[8] *here and all that matters are cormorants, frogs, flies and tadpoles in little ponds. But no one is bothered by the fact that people have nothing to eat, that there are floods and torrents of rain. Environmental protection locked all the doorways for investors so tightly they are too afraid to come here at all* (…). *The only things that matter are cormorants, frogs, there is an underpass for 150 thousand* (…) *and when they found a nest of the white-tailed eagle, the motorway was moved.*

[8] Natura 2000 is the EU-wide network of nature conservation areas set up to ensure the survival of Europe's most valuable species and habitats; http://ec.europa.eu/environment/nature/info/pubs/docs/nat2000/factsheet_en.pdf (accessed 30.11.2014).

Constructing new motorways is a part of natural progress in developing Poland. In order to maintain sustainable development, however, local communities should be taken into consideration within new projects. In this case the environmental standards were met, but the people responsible for the construction of the motorway did not think of solutions that would improve the living standard of residents in roadside areas. Although no radical industrialisation of Poland took place and no environmental disaster was caused, the above statements clearly point to the fact that balance was not maintained. Many of the local residents felt they were treated worse than, to quote one of the interviewees, frogs and cormorants. Such a 'compromise' with nature is surely not what sustainable development is about.

"The Flying Corpses' Curve"

Animal passages were a very expensive and controversial investment. Fortunately, in retrospect they have turned out to be effective, as animals have been using them more and more often. Roe deer and boars have already adapted to the new circumstances, but red deer are too timid to go over the motorway. However, according to a forester from Bieleń, they will also adapt to the change over time:

> *In my opinion, the animals will get used to it sooner or later. Perhaps some of the paths will change, but it's not that animals migrate along the same old path every time. Because these passages will change the paths, too, I'm not saying they won't, but they allow them to get across to the other side. It's not like the motorway cuts anything off once and for all.*

The passages and fences have proved effective, as animals do not run out on the motorway and cause accidents. It is very different on DK92, which is crossed by animals in search of shelter or food. Although according to the World Wide Fund for Nature report the number of recorded accidents involving animals in Lubuskie Province is lower than anywhere else in Poland, i.e. about 570 incidents in 2009, the number of animals dying under the wheels of vehicles is still high (Borowska 2010: 6). As the report indicates, "an animal has practically no chances of survival when it runs into a speeding car. In 98% of collisions, deer die on the spot or due to injuries sustained in the accident" (Borowska 2009: 4). The chances are even lower for smaller creatures:

> *You often see run-over foxes, even pet animals, you know, a cat, a dog, well, there were also boars, roe deer, you know, just as everywhere else.*

As the above statement indicates, motorways are much safer for animals than DK92. Is it the same with people? Many share the view that the new motorway reduced the volume of traffic on DK92 and as a consequence the number of traffic incidents has fallen. Previously, according to the locals, there was not a week without an accident. These days in Miedzichowo *the sirens in the watchtower do not blare as they used to.* As noted by a man who has worked for eight years at a currency exchange in Lutol Suchy:

> *In the past, a day without a tragedy on A2 was almost… there weren't days like that. There was always something going on and if, God forbid, it rained a little, it was a disaster.*

Evidence for the vast number of fatal accidents that happened on DK92 can be found in the crosses that are placed along the route, including a birch cross commemorating Bronisław Geremek[9] who died in a car crash in Lubień, Miedzichowo commune, on 13 July 2008[10]. The roadside memorials are not much noticeable in daylight hours, but that changes on 1 November[11], when families of the deceased come to light votive candles in memory of their relatives and friends. No wonder that DK92 is known among the local residents as the "Route of Death", and some of its sections bear names such as "Dead Man's Curve". An inhabitant of Bieleń believes that the motorway deserves credit for improving the situation: *Personally I have no doubt that the motorway has saved many lives.*

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[9] Bronisław Geremek (1932-2008) – Polish historian and politician, knight of the Order of the White Eagle. He was the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the years 1997–2000 and Member of the European Parliament from 2004 until his death.

[10] Strona internetowa http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/kraj/bronislaw-geremek-zginal-w-wypadku-samochodowym/x223k (accessed 01.12.2014).

[11] In Poland, 1 November is celebrated as All Saints Day, a public holiday in honour of all saints, known and unknown. 2 November is All Souls' Day devoted to the souls of all dead. Since it is a working day, Poles visit cemeteries on 1 November, lighting candles and decorating the graves of their family and friends with flowers.

This fact is confirmed by firefighters from the local volunteer fire brigades. One of the statutory aims of volunteer units is "participation in rescue operations during fires, emergencies related to environmental protection, accidents and other disasters or incidents" (Szaflik 2005). In addition, five brigades from Trzciel and Miedzichowo, the communes we visited, were added to the National Firefighting and Rescue System[12] and their area of operation includes not only national, county and commune roads, but also motorway sections.

A smaller number of accidents on DK92 does not mean they do not happen at all. The residents of villages along the road had to learn to be cautious. Sometimes a momentary lack of attention or insufficient lighting will suffice for a fatal accident to take place. An intersection in Brójce, with estates on one side of the road and a cemetery on the other, is especially prone to accidents: people who want to visit their family graves quite often need to wait more than ten minutes to cross the road safely. There are no traffic lights or even a zebra crossing that could solve the problem. As the head of a neighbouring village noted:

> *People are killed on the crossing and you could paint stripes for two thousand zloties, right? But no, you mustn't, not for people from here, so they get killed. But that's not important.*

Nevertheless, there is still no zebra crossing. There is only the road that divides the land of the living (the village) from the land of the dead (the cemetery). Presumably many people crossed it only in one direction. No wonder that the spot acquired the notorious nickname "The Flying Corpses' Curve".

The most frequent cause of accidents on DK92 is alcohol. According to the head of the Volunteer Fire Service in Lutol Suchy, 90% of people who died in accidents in the area (bikers, moped riders, pedestrians) were under the influence of alcohol. However, much more often traffic incidents are caused by drivers who fall asleep behind the wheel, overtake in inappropriate moments or are under the influence of alcohol.

One needs to keep in mind that the motorway itself is not entirely safe either. The most common type of incidents on DK92 are collisions, whereas on the motorway it is fatal accidents that prevail; they are

[12] Strona internetowa http://straz.gov.pl/page/index.php?str=944 (accessed 01.12.2014.)

usually caused by speeding. Head-on crashes should not take place on a motorway, theoretically speaking, but they do happen on the Motorway of Freedom.

Firefighters from the Volunteer Fire Service are taking preventive actions by educating children on how to behave on the road and reminding them to be cautious. The firefighters themselves undergo special trainings focused on road accidents, while units within the National Firefighting and Rescue System have specialist rescue equipment at their disposal. But all of this is of little importance since there are not enough firefighters: their trainings completed, they leave to big cities or abroad in search of a job and all that is left are their uniforms.

The Trzciel Blues

One of the stops during our research along DK92 was Trzciel, a small commune town in Lubusz Voivodeship near the border with Wielkopolska Voivodeship. It was definitely one of the most important places we managed to visit. The few days we spent there provided food for thought, showing the surprisingly grim face of the town, which most people travelling between the east and the west simply circumvent.

Trzciel appears to be a calm, drowsy town. What drew our attention when seeking informants for our research was its demographic structure. A vast number of inhabitants are elderly people, often pensioners, while the working-age population is surprisingly small. Our informants repeatedly stressed that finding a job both in the town and in the neighbouring area borders on the miracle. Since there are no places offering employment, people commute to other towns, such as Świebodzin, which are slightly larger but also far away from Trzciel. The businesses that have existed so far, are being closed. One can see many signboards of places and companies that have not been active for such a long time, that they are practically non-existent. The locals try to invest in new schemes, but these often turn out to be unprofitable after some time, like florist's shops that come and go one after another. More and more young people decide to join the professional army, which guarantees a stable soldier's pay and offers financial security for those unable to make a living in the vicinity of their home town. Many have emigrated, looking for a better future abroad. Dozens of locals have pursued a vision of a different, often idealised reality. The Trzciel of today is an old people's town, say the inhabitants themselves, *there are no jobs, it's a town of the retired and pensioners, and maybe that's why it's harder to live here?*

There are many reasons why this situation may come as a surprise. The division into 'Poland A' and 'Poland B' is especially striking. According to this cliché, still popular in Poland, the western part of the country, in contrast to the eastern one, is richer, more economically dynamic and offers more, better paid jobs. The artificiality of this division clearly shows in the example of Trzciel: a town ridiculously close to the "West", so much desired by the local people. But the fact that the German border is only one hundred kilometres away does not affect the living standards or the affluence of the locals, because there are factors at play of far greater importance than the location on the map or geographic determinism. At this point, one can hardly avoid referring to the subject of our research, i.e. DK92 and A2. The latter was expected by the locals to spur the development of the town and the whole region. In the course of our research we often heard opinions on the supposedly enormous influence that the proximity of a town to the nearest junction has on the local economy. Many business plans have never been carried out precisely because a junction was located in a different place from the one previously planned. This is another principle that Trzciel violates, since a junction located only five kilometres from the town did not influence the development of the area in any significant way.

The most telling example of this phenomenon is a shop located near the town centre that our research team visited. It is here that many of the problems mentioned so far intersect and find their reflection in the daily life of the town inhabitants. Already from the outside one is struck by the uncommon appearance of this windowed shack made of plywood sheets, but the real surprise awaits those who come inside.

The range of products is quite astonishing in its diversity. The shop offers almost everything: books, consumer electronics, toys, jewellery, home décor, furniture and many others. All of the articles are second-hand and come from Germany. The owner imports them at a small cost and then sells to the locals. Some the items are quite tattered, showing signs of many years of wear, others are practically new. The shop is bursting at the seams, goods are exhibited on the pavement by the front door, on the shelves, on the floor, so that it is difficult to move around. There was always someone coming in and out and our conversation was constantly interrupted, but we learnt quite much. All our impressions and reflections on the town were confirmed.

The reason why inhabitants are so inclined to visit the shop is that the goods on sale are less expensive than in other places. Often the price is not considerably lower, it may only be a few zloties, but this seemingly small difference turns out to be of profound significance for the buyers. We were told that many customers are very meticulous in calculating how much something would cost in another shop and often ask for an article to be put aside. One informant said:

> *I saw a pram, like the one they have for dolls, but it was made from cloth, I saw it in a shop, a bit different, but let's say it was this size, for 45 zloties! So I bought it later in my place, 'cause I have a grand-daughter, four years old, and I got the same model for 8 zloties!*

The majority of people who visit this place are retired or live on a disability pension. They come to buy basic goods or gifts for their grandchildren. But they cannot always afford even such modest shopping, they buy when they have the means. *It depends on the day! It depends whether they've just got their pension or not!*

The phenomenon of the shop described above seems to be a perfect illustration of the problems that the inhabitants of Trzciel face on every-day basis, although it is worth noting that we gained similar impressions while conducting research in other localities along DK92. In the case of Trzciel one notices the demographic dimension described above: a town deserted by young, energetic people, a town of pensioners and retirees. The poverty and economic stagnation that are widely commented upon, the limited number of workplaces and the difficulties with finding a job lead to a situation where every zloty saved by buying things in a second-hand shop is worth its weight in gold. The fact that the goods on sale are brought from the West, from Germany, is also symbolical in some respect. Young, active people go abroad in search of a more interesting reality and better living conditions. The only way to be in touch with this idealised world is to buy goods that come from it, but which it no longer needs.

Shadow economy

Shadow economy, which primarily includes prostitution and fuel smuggling, is a significant aspect in the daily functioning of DK92. Selling illegal fuel is not an unfamiliar topic for local residents, especially those working at places such as car washes, petrol stations, hotels and bars, which provide an opportunity for direct contact with drivers from the East. Nevertheless, the focus of this paper will be primarily on prostitution, since up to recently the area where we conducted our research was a hotbed of prostitution and the issue was particularly visible. The sex business existed already in the 1980s, it flourished in the 1990s and kept functioning in the first decade of the 21st century. It was only two or three years ago that prostitution started to wane. Like in the past, the majority of sex workers are Russian-speaking women from Belarus, Ukraine and Russia, others come mostly from Bulgaria and Poland.

Hołyst's typology identifies two types of prostitutes in the area covered by the research: women offering sexual services in hotels and night clubs, and streetwalkers (Wypyszyński 2011). One place lingering in the memory of local people is the infamous restaurant and hotel "Otwarte Wrota" in Sępolno, a meeting place for prostitutes and their, mostly foreign, clients. But what the local people noticed most and what aroused much controversy was roadside prostitution. One could not turn a blind eye to the great number of women standing on roadsides and by every forest road. People also complained that the rubbish left by prostitutes in the forests made walks there unpleasant, if not disgusting.

Although the 'woman of easy virtue' stigma is very strong, prostitutes were generally accepted by the inhabitants of local towns and villages and perceived as normal neighbours and mothers. An elderly resident of Brójce talked with respect about women who had lived in his village:

> *But, honestly, if you take an ordinary guy like me or someone else, it didn't bother anyone at all.* (…) *Really. We had these Ukrainian, Russian girls, everyone knew them. They were kind, we used to say hello to each other… I think… personally I think there's nothing wrong about that. Live and let live, I say. There were no drunken parties here, no noise.*

One of the arguments 'for' was surely the fact that prostitutes generated income both for owners of local hotels and shops. Another, probably more ethics-oriented argument in defence of prostitutes, depicts them as (usually) foreign women, far away from home, who, to all probability, work in the profession against their own will. This image was strengthened by the noticeable presence of the ladies' protectors, or pimps, called 'Bulgarians' by the local townspeople.

As travelling on the motorway was free of charge for the first couple of months after its opening, the majority of drivers opted for the comfort of the motorway and DK92 was deserted for some time. Lorries returned to the road when tolls were introduced, but drivers from Western Europe stayed on the motorway, which certainly brought financial losses to everyone involved in the sex business. Soon the police and the local Forest Inspectorate undertook steps to eliminate roadside prostitution in the area. The strategy was based on referring to the Code of Administrative Offences and the Penal Code. The Forest Inspectorate began to impose fines for littering forests and put barriers on side forests roads to prevent undesirable vehicles from driving there (*Kodeks Wykroczeń*, Chapter 19, Art. 161 and 162. §1). One of the local foresters commented on the matter as follows:

> *Littering used to be the biggest problem and now it's solved. The police took appropriate action together with the Forest Inspectorate and it limited the thing to some degree, and today we have the barriers along 92, which stop them, and the problem is no more.* (…) *because prostitution was a problem here, and a big one, I can tell you.*

It should be noted however, that although prostitution is not punishable under Polish law, recruiting to prostitution, procuring and child prostitution are prohibited (*Kodeks Karny*, Chapter 25, Art. 203 and 204). Despite the fact that prostitution is part of the so-called grey economy, it is usually associated with the black market, since all illegal conduct associated with prostitution is endemic. What is more, some of the local residents believe that another reason for the decline of prostitution in their area were fights between various crime groups.

The losers and the winners

The A2 motorway is often believed to be an indicator of Poland's development. It was supposed to bring progress and to some degree this goal was achieved. However, incorporating a structure of this size into the national transportation network could not have taken place without side effects, especially when a new motorway put one of the country's main roads on the back burner. It is natural that numerous roadside businesses, such as hotels, restaurants, car washes and petrol stations emerge along transportation hubs of this kind and DK92 was no exception here. How did the local entrepreneurs react to the modernisation and what happened to their businesses?

A roadside inn "Otwarte Wrota" – "The Opened Gates" – near Sępolno is one of the seven facilities built along DK92 in the 1970s. In the past it used to be crowded with guests, including celebrity singers, such as Maryla Rodowicz, and politicians, for example Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak and even the Chancellor of Germany Helmut Kohl. Their opinions on the delicious food and excellent service can be read in the guest book available at the inn on request. Elżbieta, who owns the place together with her husbands, has tears in her eyes when she talks about the old times. This is where she was born and where she spent most of her life, striving to continue the tradition started by her parents. Today she can barely make ends meet. Her children left for bigger cities in search of a job and the inn is still opened mainly out of sentiment: guests are rarely to be seen and the cook is happy if she prepares more than one meal a day.

This motorway upset us a lot, says Elżbieta. Passenger traffic decreased dramatically, replaced by lorries, whose drivers avoid the inn. Moreover, it is located quite far away from residential buildings in the area and there are no pavements or cycling paths which would make the place accessible to local people. The inn is about to change its line of business to agritourism in order to reduce costs, because Elżbieta on one hand does not want to lose it yet on the other hand cannot afford to keep it. Closing "The Opened Gates" is only a matter of time.

When passing through Brójce one cannot help noticing the monumental "Victoria" hotel, established by three partners, one of whom was a relative of the famous singer and composer Czesław Niemen. Local residents remember the times when it was difficult to find an empty place at the hotel's parking lot. "The rooms are decorated in warm colours with classic furniture" and each one "has an en suite bathroom with a shower or bathtub". [13] Many people from the village found employment at the

[13] Strona internetowa www.booking.com/hotel/pl/contra.pl.html (accessed 24.11.2014).

hotel. They worked on three shifts and had plenty of duties. There is a big dancing room with an enormous disco ball hanging at the ceiling. Here, too, the signs of decay are clearly visible. The parking lot is getting overgrown with grass and the hotel is practically closed. The new owner runs the whole business on his own, receives the last guests before the final closing and is thinking of a new function for the building.

There are other places that follow this downward trend. The "Sen" Hotel in Myszęcin, offering "47 comfortable en suite bedrooms"[14] with TV and broadband in each one, stays empty. A note informs that the house is for sale along with its companion in agony, an adjacent petrol station. The village people grieve the loss and do not see their future in bright colours. It is likewise with the "Clara" hotel in Ojerzyce. It stands slightly further away, so the building is not visible from the main road. One notices, however its signpost with words "For Sale". Another hotel, "Pan Tadeusz" can be seen at the side road to Rzeczyca. The owner, Tadeusz, who gave his name to the hotel, proudly announces that he contributed to the growth of the village, because the sign with the its name was moved beyond the hotel and anyway if it was not for "Pan Tadeusz" *nobody would know about a place like Rzeczyca*. It is evident that the hotel receives guests, but the owner expresses great frustration at the very mention of the motorway.

In the past, while driving DK92 one could stop to buy all kinds of garden figures, notably the famous gnomes. Now such shops can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The number of roadside vendors of forest fruits, mushrooms and honey has dropped as well. The few that remained are usually those who keep the stand in front of their own house and go out only when someone stops at their door – usually an old customer or friend, because lorry drivers have no time to stop.

All of this tells one coherent story of regression. But it is merely a fragment of reality which, as usual, is more complicated than it seems.

Local people say that the owners of "Otwarte Wrota" rested on their laurels and did not adapt to new requirements, lacking flexibility. Nothing was changed in the inn after the passenger traffic on DK92 had diminished. While local entrepreneurs gradually shifted to services for lorry drivers and organising special events for people from the neighbourhood,

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[14] Strona internetowa www.hotelsen.pl/oferta/90/lang/1/ (accessed 24.11.2014).

Figure 3. The roadside vendor of mushrooms, Miedzichowo,
Greater Poland Vovoidship, 2014 (photo by Ewa Krygiel)

“Otwarte Wrota” kept serving the same dinners. The remoteness from bigger towns and lack of any facilities for pedestrians were the final nails in the inn’s coffin. The quality of service and value for money were questionable too.

The “Victoria” hotel is separated from the village with a busy road, without a pedestrian crossing or footbridge, for which the locals have been campaigning for several years. On top of that, the hotel can be reached directly only when driving from the east; drivers from the west need to take a detour of about 200 meters to turn back at the “Sosenka” bar (a thriving one). All this is rather discouraging for potential guests and sends hungry drivers to the competition.

On the other side of the road, almost opposite of “Victoria” there is the “Maria” hotel. Its owners remember the long queues at the door and the parking lot full of coaches with hungry tourists inside. The “golden age” lasted from 1992 and ended when the A2 motorway was opened. As a result, passenger traffic decreased drastically. Even before that, lorry drivers began to choose places suggested by tachographs for an obligatory break (Polish law forbids a driver to spend more than 4,5 hours at the steering wheel without rest) and, according to the hotel owner, Brójce is not one of such places. Despite the falling revenue, "Maria" stays open. It is mostly visited by regular clients and those lorry drivers who wish to avoid crowded places. The local golonka (traditional Polish pork hocks) is an alternative to fast food restaurants along the motorway – another incentive for some travellers. It is worth adding that the hotel owner complains about a lack of good candidates for employees: the majority of active workers have moved to bigger cities or emigrated.

About a dozen kilometres west from "Otwarte Wrota", in Stary Folwark, stands the "Słoneczko" bistro. Situated directly by the road in an area with few residential buildings, it has been operating successfully for over 20 years. *It was no mystery, we knew many years ahead that it would come at some point*, said the bistro's owner. She used the knowledge and decided to make a change in advance by targeting local clients. Six months before the opening of the motorway, a new banquet hall, which can hold over one hundred people was created. It is used for family events, such as weddings, funeral receptions and First Communion dinners.

A garden with gazebos and benches was created around the bistro along with a fish and chip shop. The bistro has the advantage of a big parking lot; moreover, it is readily visible from the road and drivers are invited for a meal by CB radio. Thanks to these efforts the opening of the motorway did not bring about another bankruptcy. The revenue has decreased by half, but no redundancies were made. Resourcefulness, creativity and energy devoted to the place is what makes the clients return.

A couple of kilometres away one sees "Bar u Suma", commonly known as "Little Carp" established 13 years ago near local fish farms. It is another place where negative effects of the motorway were expected. When the change took place it was a sudden one. Once traffic had diminished, travelling customers were replaced by local people. The owners decided to take advantage of the picturesqueness of the place. They created a pier, wooden shelters and a playground, which encourage visitors to take a walk or relax at the ponds. Summer season is the most lucrative; in the winter the owners make a living mostly from selling "Christmas fish", mainly carp, traditionally eaten on Christmas Eve in Poland. The place, however, is not adapted to the needs of lorry drivers: there are no appropriate parking lots or overnight accommodation. Although, just as elsewhere, "Little Carp's" turnover has dropped by half, the business is evidently thriving. It is worth adding that on the other side of the ponds one can see the buildings of Trzciel, one of the biggest towns along the motorway. Among these buildings one finds the hotel and restaurant "Rancho Colorado" managed by the radiant looking owner, Justyna. Many other examples of this kind could be given here.

We heard numerous versions of the events during our field study and gained much experience ourselves. The data collected questions both the positive image of the long-awaited modernisation brought by the A2 motorway and the negative view that it completely ruined the local area. Our main goal was to cast some light on the issue and present it in its diversity. Looking at the map, the motorway is only a line – the view from the ground is entirely different.

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DOROTA ANGUTEK

New Symbolism in the Perception of Motorway Scenery

Introduction. Basic Theoretical Concepts

The gist of the article is to show how the symbolism of ways, routes and roads has changed in European culture since the Middle Ages up to the modernday. The paper contains an *Introduction* and two parts which are divided into two different concepts of symbolism, but they correspond with each other. In the first part, I am going to present the specific symbolism of three historical epochs, they are: the so called Dark Ages, peasants folklore of the 18th and 19th centuries, and the third is a series of ideas of picturesque scenery connected with the Romantic era. In the second part, I would like interpret a new symbolism of motorways in contemporary times.

It is important to underline that in part one, I identify my interpretation of symbolism of ways and roads with a literary theory of culture and symbolism which is an alternative perspective to the human tradition in cultural anthropology. The literary definition of culture as a symbolic sphere was created by Mathew Arnold from the romantic movement. Arnold and his antecedents, like Samuel Coleridge and Thomas Carlyle, started to apply an axiological manner of symbolic interpretation. Two traditions of cultivation of an anthropological theory of culture were derived by Wojciech J. Burszta in his book *Świat jako więzienie kultury. Pomyślenia* (2008: 9). **The literary tradition permits me to understand and explain symbols from a "Eurocentric" perspective, as I am a participant of this culture and I understand it because I feel it directly.** In other words, my interpretation could be treated as an **example of native**

anthropology, especially a native anthropology of senses. C. Nadia Seremetakis, an American anthropologist who grow up in Greece, grounded her anthropological book about senses on her own experiences when she was a young girl (Seremetakis 1991: 23–43). She explained the sensual experiences of American people through her own feelings and experiences from Greece. Following this tradition, I also make interpretations following her experimental method. Also, Norman Davies explained the difference between Eurocentric historians and European native historians (Davies 2003: 41–42). **He concluded that to be a Eurocentric man means to think about Europe as the best and the highest culture of the world. However, there are historians from Europe who just write about their own historical heritage and no more. I connect these three statements as permission for a subjective but exact interpretation of our cultural symbols.** Of course, I have no personal experience of life in the three historical epochs in question, but we, Europeans, still have some of those symbols and their meanings in modern European culture.

In the second part of this paper, I base an interpretation of new symbolism on Michael Jackson's radical empiricism which is a variant of the anthropology of senses. In other words, an anthropological phenomenology of perception (Jackson 1989). I will present it below. A great contribution to the concept of perception was developed by an American neuroscientist; Villayanur Subramanian Ramchandran, who has proved empirically how synesthesian associations works. He thesis claims that the human brain evolved in throughout history by the development of mental structures and connected neurons which changed cultural abilities in humans brains in general (Ramachandran 2012). I use his theory of synesthesia to support my thesis, that very quick moving by transport via vehicles needs a new kind of symbols which can then be transformed into new meanings.

My observation and research make me believe that certain people have fine tactile (haptic) perception connected with symbolic thinking. I suppose that tactile impulses inour bodies stimulate feelingswhich the mind transforms into symbols of haptic perception (haptic action). My hypothesis is based on the work of New Zealand anthropologist Michael Jackson. His book, titled *Paths Toward a Clearing* (Jackson 1989) is a reflection of inter-tribal social connections that are expressed through the layout of a network of paths in a village of the Kuranko tribe from Sierra Leone in West Africa. His concepts and methods are founded on Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of perception (Merleau-Ponty, 2001) also on Heidegger's idea of *Being* (Heidegger 1977: 317 and next pp.) and Sartrean "pre-reflective cogito" (Sartre 2007: 10 and next pp.). Jackson bases his thesis on what I call "prereflective consciousness" or *Being* that is connected with the feeling of one's body; its parts, skin and insides. He makes analogies between the parts of a body and the physical configurations of cultural and natural objects in their surroundings (Jackson 1989: 137–155). I am going to use this concept to characterize the close contemporary connections of drivers and their cars and roads. Jackson's conception can be seen as an alternative to the sensual theory of symbols and causality by English empiricists, such as: John Lock, George Berkeley and David Hume (Pałubicka 2006: 72–79).

In the aforementioned book by Jackson, the author developed a conception of radical empiricism that described all tribes and their different manners of feelings through a human body. His main thesis is that people who have tactile feelings do not need any symbolic mechanism to understand the intentions of others in their behavior based on emotions. For example, girls initiated to be mothers express their feelings by crying; to others this act is a clear enough statement of their feelings; others do not need to more deeply understand their behavior or the cause of it. The fact that pregnant women of the Kuranko tribe wear special costumes during pregnancy is not as important symbols as the emotions they are expressing to symbolize the process. They only strengthen those feelings, but do not inform about anything which Kuranko people do not know (Jackson 1989: 118–136). Also, we do not need to understand native symbols via structural theories, semiotics and others interpretations, but natives and anthropologists can understand a situation by body feelings, and by actions in which they participate. I will expose a sensual mechanism based on phenomena named synesthesia and synergy to explain and describe the possibility of valuated thinking (without symbols) hidden in our "pre-reflective consciousness". Synergy is a process in which someone feels an object in their surroundings through his or her body, especially his or her skin and muscles. This process was described Ray Birdwhistell and Edward Hall who termed it "syncing" (Hall 1984: 111; Angutek 2013: 137–140). Synesthesia is a mental process which makes synergy real. It is a mutual process. Even between synesthesia and synergy is a dependence, but there is no empirical evidence of how this mechanism works on a biological level. In this context, some kind of theory of memetics could be helpful to explain the exact nature of this phenomenon, but now I leave it to be, possibly, as a theme for future publication (see: Wężowicz–Ziółkowska 2008). In this theory, synergy/synesthesia interdependence is the another type of thought besides metaphorical or casual associations in human thinking. However, it does not exclude the possibility of changing synergic impulses into metaphor. For example, an effect of synesthesia is “to smell color” or “to smell sound” and so on. But, also the smell of color can be transformed into a metaphor of a high-life situated person in society, and the smell of sound can create signs of rage or angelic music. Such “translations” – namely the transformation of sensations into metaphor (symbol) was described and explained by Umberto Eco (Eco 1994: 17-56).

A full presentation of my conceptscan be found in my book: *Kulturowe wymiary krajobrazu* [*The Cultural Dimensions of Landscape*] (Angutek 2013: 137–141, 300). Let me now analyze the symbolism of the three epochs mentioned at the beginning of my paper.

Some historical meanings of roads and ways in European Culture

Records from the folklore of the Middle-Ages and peasant folklore of the 18th-19th centuries show us that people were afraid of a new, wild, unknown world outside of their safe, closed villages (Stomma 1986: 5–90). But, these mainly agricultural workers began to expand into new areas due to poor materia circumstances, the threat of enemies, or the need to escape slavery. Therefore, increasing numbers were determined to leave their villages (Baranowski 1986: 6–7, 12–161; Ingold 2000: 198–205; Davies 2003: 33–41, 370, 403). Due to this, ways and roads, outside of their safe villages typically symbolized a dangerous unknown future and strange beings that they invented in their mythical thinking. A combination of fear and physical extremes, led to perceptions of new areas and their surrounding as being full of mythical beings and strange creatures, such as demons, beasts, dragons, trolls, little people, fairies, witches and bandits. Moreover, plants were understood to have unusual magical features. All of these factors threatened people with dangers, such as ambushes or attacks. Nowadays, for us, those dangers are seen simply as mountains, the sounds of streams or wind and so on. It is important to stress the scientific idea that perception of the environment depends on culture, similarly our feelings are determined by culture, even they express themselves in human biology and environmental conditions. For example, in Taoism and other forms of Buddhist philosophy and religions derived from it, roads are not fear-based symbols. Ways and roads symbolize, in those belief systems, a life in which movement and journeys are symbolic of peace and calmness. So the roots of any symbol are stuck in culture, not in biology, even if they are somatic in nature.

The statement mentioned above also provides for picturesque ideas and romantic symbolism. They are opposite to those described previously. Theorists of the beauty of countryside, like William Giplin (1794), Uvidale Price (1976) and Richard Payne Knight (1815) showed the native nature of England as friendly and full of beauty to people, they described nature as a picturesque environment (Frydryczak 2013: 98–111). Then, romantic writers like William Wordsworth, Samuel Coleridge or Walter Scott (Angutek 2005: 137–148) and naturalistic painters, like Constable taught us to admire peaceful lofty landscapes of the countryside of our homelands (Angutek 2005; 2013). The canon of behavior in that era was a lonely walk among nature which was treated by us as a silent companion through which a person could converse with him- or herself (Macnaghten, Urry 2005: 157–161; Frydryczak 46–154). Ways and roads began to symbolize a reflective individual life. Giplin, Price, Knight and the Romantics were the first environmentalists of native nature in Europe. They fought against the bad results of the industrial revolution which was destroying the purity of nature (Angutek 2005, 2013). Even today, walking along country roads is a sort of discourse (Konończuk 2014).

Now, let me present some further reflections on perception in picturesque ideas and the Romantic era. In Romanticism, the earlier ideas of the picturesque perception of a wild environment changed, it became seen as area of beauty in an aesthetic sense. Perceptions of nature brought with them very comfortable sensations for one’s psyche and body. Today, when we have a leisurely walk, our feelings are built on the picturesque and romantic canon. European cultures of the past, described above, depended on real physical bodily dimensions (Bauman 2000: 35–66). Slowly moving throw native natural environments was easier on our human cognitive systems. People could manage, or have a greater chance to perceive numerous and very fine details in the environment. Also, the dimensions of a human body could be easily “translated” into shapes of physical objects in natural surroundings. For example, we can imagine that mountains are "pregnant" hills of the Earth, analogical to a female belly when a woman is pregnant. This is a form of anthropomorphism of nature. The work of Michael Jackson is full of similar metaphors and synecdoches for the human body and the natural environment or cultural material surroundings, including paths and ways (Jackson 1989: 135–155). They were able to perceive phenomena in their surroundings in relation to their bodies, or their slow-moving vehicles and draft animals. So, measurements of the physical world depended on measurements of their bodies and slow movement. I suppose they made it easier to catch sensual impressions of the physical world. Nowadays, all such circumstances have changed. Today, we have overcome and exchanged the difficulties of exhausting trips and journeys on foot or by horse, for cars and motorcycles. Actually, symbols of ways and roads have changed, even we wanted a romantic adventure, we never seem to find them anymore, except possibly through hitch-hiking or other contemporary activities. People are concentrated on driving their cars and or on the roads. With that we changed our expectations and the symbolic associations of the purpose of driving and transformed our medium of transport and journeys. What is the archetype of contemporary motorways, if there are no longer natural and magical powers and mythical beings, horses and chaises? My opinion is a little gloomy and pessimistic. Let me mention some factors describing the new values of journeys. These values and our perception of motorway scenery is creating new symbolic figures. Dynamic motorways have got a different symbolism than residential, geographic localities. To pass over any environment is not a problem, but our perceptions cannot manage to catch up with the sensations in order to meet our biological conditions. But, it is important to say: biological does not mean the opposite of cultural – culture could be organic. I put forward a thesis that is between organic concepts and cultural ideas, as in fact there is an interdependence, and organic does not always mean only biological. But this thesis is not connected with any idea of memetics

The New Symbolism of Modern Motorways

The difference between now and then is that the human cognitive system has difficulty in perceiving details when we are moving at high-speed on overcrowded roads. This "narrow-mindedness" is the result of culture but this limitation of perception is also a result of the limits of perception in our bodies.

Returning to the main theme of the article, I would like to stress that in the Picturesque and Romantic movements, by contrast with the modern day, people saw wide panoramas full of details. Now we have exchanged them for the tight spaces of our cars. Moreover, the environment of motorways is empty, I mean without trees, cozy villages and walking people. Because of this change, our perception is reduced to the space and characteristics of our cars, which is put alongside of the "empty" scenery outside. In modern Europe, roads and motorways are practical methods of transport, they no longer provide an opportunity for romantic or magical adventures. We use them to travel, not to understand the various and wealthy features of the world, especially natural landscapes. First of all, we perceive the high speed and vibrations of our engines, and sometimes also the loud music inside, which intensifies the vibrations of our cars, and we start to feel them as intense synergy. Overcrowded motorways show a panorama similar to an ant-hill opened with a stick. New paradoxical symbols of motorways and their landscapes has been born. Now, some observations of our vehicles – motorways give us an opportunity to test the speed of our cars and undertake in subtle competitions with other users of the road who are often treated as rivals or as a hindrance in the way. Some of the users of a road are anti-social and traffic regulations are a mere challenge to be broken. They are associated with legal punishment but not a social system to promote the harmonic coexistence of all users of the roads. So, driving is associated with a double danger – that of being in trouble with the police or other road users, and the feeling of a false sense of security and freedom which our vehicles inspire in us; this can occasionally lead to tragic consequences. For disciplined users and services, these threats help to form symbols of damage and destruction. Roads are now one of the symbols of death in modern world. The freedom associated with damage is a symbol of a border condition of the mind. The assumption is that a "proper" motorway is an empty, clear way, only for us. The motorway may develop in a driver a deeper insight into his/her movement in a vehicle, also it could awaken the perception of his/her engine. This process provides a new set of sensations which becomes the main point of a journey. We travel in the claustrophobic environment of our cars, and other travelers became obstacles in our way. The synergy of music, speed and the twitching of our bodies and vibrations of our cars make *soundscapes* and *hapticscapes* inside enclosed spaces, opposite to the wide landscapes which could be seen outside of our cars. It is because people have lost the feeling of previous, traditional dimensions of their bodies and perception. High speed makes it impossible to experience our surroundings in detail which is necessary in order to build symbols which connect body feelings and the environment, instead of this, drivers and passengers, especially those on the right (in continental Europe), have a flood of impressions and there is no time to reflect on them, our minds are not used to thinking so quickly. As a result of that flood, and associated rush and hurry, we are sent to our own insides. We are prisoners of our overburdened and overloaded bodies which only acts intensify the symbolism of speed.

Many people resonate with these situations like in Deep Purple's song "Machine Head" which goes:

> Nobody gonna take my car
> I'm gonna race it to the ground.
> Nobody gonna beat my car
> It's gonna break the speed of sound.
> Oooh, it's a killing machine
> It's got everything.
>
> Like a driving power big fat tyres
> and everything.
> I love it and, I need it,
> I bleed it, yeah ! it's a wild hurricane.
> Alright hold tight,
> I'm a highway star![1].

Conclusions

My conclusions are four. The first is that today there are no individual connections with the cultural symbols of roads and ways of the past because we have not developed the necessary cognitive means of perception (if they may exist at all). We have not yet evolved to properly perceive the surroundings of roads when we are driving cars or motorcycles at very high speeds.

[1] The author of text of the song is Deep Purple who recorded this song for the first time on the album "Machine Head" in 1972.

The second idea is that not only are roads dykes to our perception of the landscape and its richness, but also we are often forced to observe environmental emptiness. Motorways rarely have picturesque surroundings. In fact, they are "not-places" in Marc Augé's terminology (Augé 2010).

The third conclusion is there is no connection with the cultural symbols of society, as we in social sciences understand them: symbolic figures of our community, and other social groups. They lost the collective dimensions which organized society into sympathizing groups of users of ways and roads. The only way now to contribute to our ongoing social and cultural conversation is to move on to small subcultures, and other groups of interest such as: hitch-hikers, motorcyclists, prostitutes, workers of the hotel and restaurant trades etc. (Stacherzak-Raczkowska 2011). They have specific values and, I suppose they are going to produce new symbols as a result of their mobile lifestyles and frequent use of roads, way and motorways.

The last conclusion contains reflections, based on Ramachandran's discovery of the mechanism behind synesthesia, that new kinds of synergic impressions, thanks to new combinations of them could lead us to the emergence of new symbols of motorways and roads in the global cultural symbolic sphere.

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GABRIELA BOANGIU

Urban and Traditional Housing around Craiova City, Romania

The urban milieu is sometimes a space associated with anonymity, with individuality, with anomy. The task of the researcher is a rather difficult one in front of a challenge of such a complex topic. He/she is seldom confronting with the danger of manipulating some much too abstract constructions, taking the risk of getting away of the social reality studied before. In the work *Asphalt Gods. Urban Anthropology*, Nicolae Panea (2001) proposes an analysis of the urban milieu by connecting the community to "the space in its plurality" identifying: "an *identity space* (the strategies of using the space – territory, legitimization – in order to configure a collective identity), wherefrom emerges a *semantics of legitimization*; a *relational space* (giving significance to the space by connecting it to certain types of relations; public, domestic, funerary, playful or the capacity of social relations to mark certain specific spaces), (…) and a *textual one* (the space where the individual fulfils himself/herself by choosing and applying some coherent strategies, artistically presented) wherefrom derives a *semantics of adaptation*" (220-221).

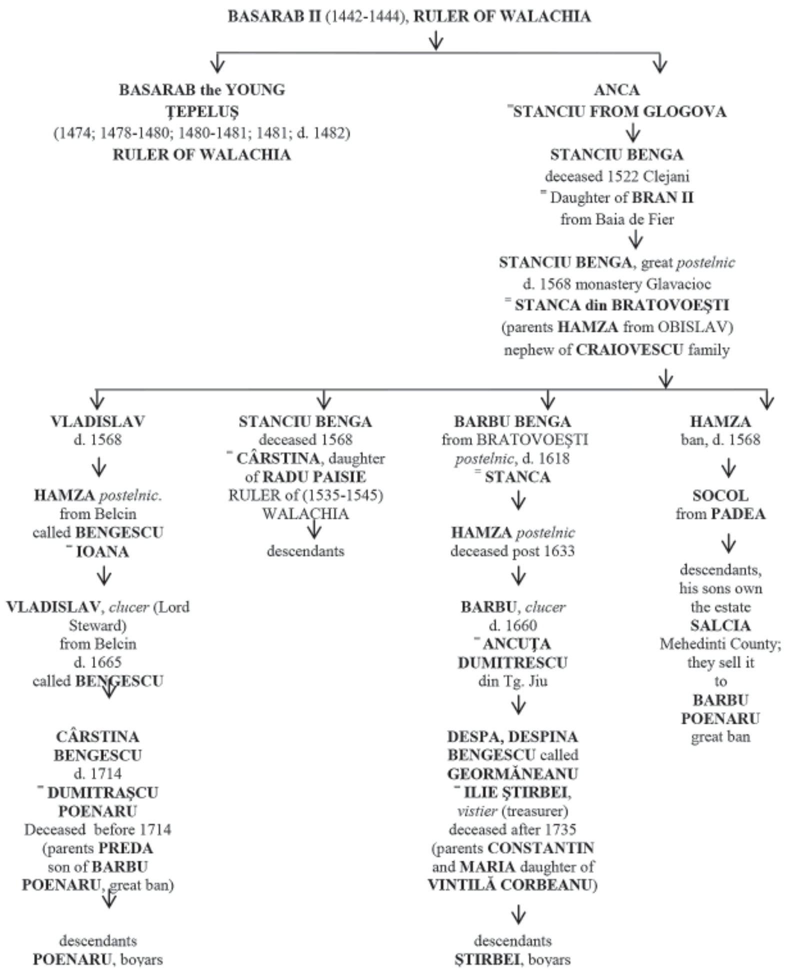
The human anthropology meets the requests, necessary for the investigation of the urban environment, cultural identity, and some social representations and practices, through a set of principle and methods. From this point of view we are trying to approach our theme 'urban and traditional housing around Craiova City, Romania'. Craiova is the largest city from the south-west of Romania, with a strategic position and connections towards all the other cities from Romania, along with the neighbouring countries – Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria. In order to reach

Bulgaria, one can pass through Bechet, a small locality from Romania, and can choose the road Craiova – Malu Mare – Bechet, on the routes 56E79, at the exit from Craiova, and then route 55. On route 55 there are several villages whose houses still keep few features from the vernacular architecture, certain houses that have the architecture of the boyars' constructions from the 17th-19th centuries, along with newer houses, built after 1989, after the Revolution from December 1989, therefore after the collapse of the communist regime from Romania. There have been investigated houses like Malu Mare, Preajba, Secui, Teasc, Bratovoiesti, Giormani, where before the years of the communist regime there were large estates of the boyars from this area, as that of Poenaru family.

The concept of "cultural landscape" seems to be useful for our approach. Carl O. Sauer, a human geographer, offered the best regard for the conception of "cultural landscape" (James and Martin 198: 321–324). Sauer was determined to stress the agency of culture as a force in shaping the visible features of the Earth's surface in delimited areas. Within his definition, the physical environment retains a central significance, as the medium with and through which human cultures act. (Sauer 1925: 19-53). His classic definition of a 'cultural landscape' reads as follows: "The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result" (Sauer 1925: 19–53).

Therefore, the term "cultural landscape" can be used when referring to the villages on the route 55, where the form of relief is the plain and the houses merge urban and traditional elements, with a particular appearance. The boyars' houses have preserved their traditional aspect along the years, their characteristics remembering of the old boyars' *cula* (a building specific for the area of Oltenia) that can still be seen in Oltenia, the region from the south-west of Romania, whose non-formal capital is Craiova. After the revolution from December 1989, which represented the collapse of the communist regime, the land was retroceded, but not in its initial form, but with some modifications. Thus, many of the farming lands became residential and permitted different constructions, most of them houses, which preserve the urban aspect in their architecture.

We shall refer first to the boyar families and the specific of their houses, then to the more recent constructions, those made after 1989. The dwellers from the village Malu Mare still remember the image of the Poenaru boyars, as it appeared at the beginning of the 20th century,



before World War II. There are few legends depicting how Poenaru family were arriving in the village and were spending their time at the mansion from Malu Mare.

Poenaru family has many branches spread on the territory of Romania, but we are going to study only the branch of Belcianu. *Vornic* (magistrate) Matei Poenaru, son of Vasile Poenaru is attested at the beginning of the

Figure 1. The mansion of Poenaru family from Malu Mare, former high-school of the commune in the communist period (photo by Gabriela Boangiu)

18th century, owning parts of an estate inside the village of Bădoşi and Bratovoieşti commune from Dolj County, which were used to be called Giormani. (Ciobotea, Avram and Osiac 2004: 141–152).

All his children can be found in a document that presents them concerned with the payment of a debt for the brother Matei, named after his father, who had passed away in 1763. Among them, Radu Poenaru is mentioned with a part of the estate inside the village of Giormani. Radu Poenaru and other siblings owned parts from the same estate, named Giormani. One of them could be Costandin Poenaru, also known as the founder, in 1753, of the bricked church under the patronage of "St. Nicholas" from Bădoşi (Ciobotea, Florescu 2013: 101–125).

The estates from Bratovoeşti and Giormani belonged to the domain of Craiovescu boyars. The documents present Stanca from Bratovoieşti, a niece of the boyars Craiovescu. She was married to Stanciu Benga, a descendant of Basarab, ruler of Walachia (1442-1444), through his daughter, named Anca, sister of Basarab the Young, called Ţepeluş, also a ruler of Walachia. The descendants of Barbu Benga and Stanca were known under the name Bengescu. One of their son, Vladislav,

Figure 2. A boyars' house, at present kindergarten (photo by Gabriela Boangiu)

had descendants in Poenaru family and other, Barbu, in Ştirbei family. (Rezachevici 2001 and Sturdza 1971: 43). See the family tree below[1].

Both boyars branches owned estates inside the villages of Bratovoeşti and Giormani.

Dumitraşcu Poenaru, husband of Cârstina Bengeanscu, was the nephew of the great ban Barbu from Poiana, from his son named Preda Poenaru (Stoicescu 1971: 227–228)[2].

Ilie Ştirbei, the husband of Despina Bengescu called Geormăneanu, was the son of the great ban Constantin Ştirbei, descendant of the great ban Preda Buzescu, through his daughter Maria, married with the great ban Teodosie Corbeanu and from the branch of the spatharus Harvat from Izvor (Stoicescu 1971: 63, 66, 147)[3].

In 1727 and 1728 Ilie Ştirbei bought 567 stanjens of the Giormani estate from Mihalcea Geormăneanu and from Stana, the wife of Ion, son of Dros from Giormani (Ciobotea coord. 2011: 91–121). In 1792, *vornic*

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[1] As cited by Dinica Ciobotea, Aurelia Florescu, Repere genealogice privind ramura Belcineanu a familiei Poenaru, in: M. Carstea, S. L. Damean, C. de Scaun (eds.) *Romanii din istoria Europei*, vol I, Targoviste, 2013, pp. 101–125

[2] Ibidem.

[3] Ibidem.

Figure 3. *Cula* from Curtisoara, Romania (photo by Gabriela Boangiu)

Figure 4. A boyars' house, on route 55, near Craiova, Romania (photo by Gabriela Boangiu)

Matei Poenaru perfected an act of agreement with Ilie Ştirbei in which it was decided "to take in common possession the estate from Giormani that Ilie Ştirbei had bought and to pay him back the money due for it". (Ciobotea, Florescu 2013: 101–125).

The descendants of Matei Poenaru inherited his properties from Giormani consisted of houses, stone church, the estate on which there was the vineyard, established in the agreement document, with Ilie Ştirbei. In the second half of the 18th century, these were in the possession of Constantin Poenaru, *biv logofăt* (great chancellor). He can be identified, through chronological positioning, between the nephews of *vornic* Matei from his son, also named Constantin Poenaru, who had the rank of *serdar* (cavalry commander), well known for his position of founder of the inherited church (Ciobotea, Florescu 2013: 101–125).

As regarding the architecture of the boyar's houses from this area, excepting the mansion of Poenaru family that has an architecture specific for the 19th century, there can be made a comparison with the famous *cula* from Oltenia, an architectural construction specific for this area.

The definition for *cula* is: "*cula*, plural *cule*, is a fortified building from the countryside area, with a door headed with iron, secured with an oak beam that is placed across it, in order to enhance its resistance (…) At the lower floor there are the cellars and the auxiliary chambers, with very small windows, while at the upper floors there were the bedrooms. On the upper floor there is generally a balcony or a gallery of arcades sustained by poles, on one or several sides; it served both as a belvedere and defensive place" (Ghica- Budesti 1936: 118).

The boyars' houses from route 55 have as central element the based balcony, with archways similar to the old *cula* from Oltenia: "The architectural element specific of a *cula* in Oltenia is the balcony with poles. This element, which expresses either a transposition of the porch, omnipresent in the houses from Oltenia, or a imitation of the interior galleries from the old monasteries, allows us to affirm that the square or rectangular tower with balcony (*cerdac*), in the upper side, can be met only in Oltenia and very rarely in the neighbouring area". (Atanasescu and Grama 1974: 11).

Besides its specific use, being defensive a construction "the balcony of the *cula* from Oltenia must be regarded as a concession made for the exigencies of comfort and scenic" (Antonescu 1907: 1204).

In order to understand better the structure of the boyars' houses from the researched area, we present a description for the *cula* from Oltenia: "Consequently, *cula* in Oltenia represents a prism shaped building made of ground floor and several other floors, with a square or rectangular shaped plan, in any case very near a squared shape. The walls are made of stone or brick, with a thickness of 0.70–1.00 m and are pierced in certain spots by long and very narrow cavities, like ramparts. The connection between the floors is made through wooden stairs, which is always placed inside. Along the staircase, each floor has one, two or three rooms. Their number depends on the size and the functionality of *cula*. The height of the rooms is relatively small, almost 2.50 m. The floors between the stories are made of thick oak beams or vaults. The vault made of wall is more frequently met between the last storey and the roof and between the cellar and the second storey. The last floor has a balcony, with archways and columns." (Atanasescu and Grama 1974: 11–12).

The balcony remains the central element of the construction: "Sometimes, the entire last floor is a balcony. The entrance in the *cula* is usually done through a single door built out of oak beams, with ingenious locking systems and often flanked by ramparts, designed for shooting with a rifle. These architectural constructions, the richness of the archways and decorative elements (pierced stones around the windows of the ground floor, fake niches, archways etc.) transform *cula* into one of the most interesting and characteristic exemplars of architecture from Oltenia" (Atanasescu and Grama 1974: 11–12).

The term *cula*, as it is mentioned in the *Dictionary of Modern Romanian Language*, draws its etymology from the Turkish word *Kula*;

Figure 5. Old house from Secui village, Dolj County, Romania
(photo by Gabriela Boangiu)

this term was and is still used to designate: 1. A tower shaped building with a rectangular basis (that used to be also a defence building); 2. (old term) Circular tower, cupola, vault, vaulted tower in the ruler's palace, in which the treasure was kept, through extension – treasure room; 3. Vaulted cellar, underground construction; (old term) A boyar's mansion, the house of a landlord (preponderantly, it has the meaning of fortified house, a peasants' house outside the town or village)" (Atanasescu and Grama 1974: 11–12).

The structure of these construction is a very old one: „On the territory of Oltenia, this type of construction has been known starting with the 16th century" (Atanasescu and Grama 1974: 19). Some specialists consider that: „The characteristic features of *cula* emphasize their existence in some of the boyars' houses from the first half of the 17th century" (Atanasescu and Grama 1974: 20).

As regarding the newer constructions from the researched area, there can be noticed a migration from the city, Craiova, towards the villages, especially Malu Mare. The right to the private property encouraged the

Figure 6. New-built houses in the area of Malu Mare, Romania
(photo by Gabriela Boangiu)

population to build many houses in this area. The interviews that we took there, explain the reasons of the migration: the small distance on route 55 from and to Craiova, low costs of the land and for building the houses, wider space for house and garden than in Craiova, lower costs for maintenance, lack of pollution, not so much noise, the village offers solution for supplying, the possibility to buy natural products from the villagers.

Adrian Constantin[4] was able to follow from the beginning the construction of his house, being thrilled about the fact that the foundation of his house is very high, about the structure of the support pillars, briefly, the way in which the entire house was built, the utilities – electricity, 80 m deep well, being able to move in permanently with his family from July 2014.

Another respondent in our study was also B.U[5]. – a musician at Oltenia Philharmonics from Craiova, who has been living with his family – wife and child – in Malu Mare since 2011. He is also delighted with the independence given by the countryside life. He enjoys all the utilities – electricity, 70 m deep well, a spacious house, kindergarten, safe playground for his child.

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[4] Adrian Constantin – interview taken in April 2014. He is 32 years old, married, he works in IT in Craiova.

[5] B.U – interview taken in April 2014 He is 36 years old, he is married, he is a musician at Oltenia Philharmonics, from Craiova, Romania.

A very interesting character is the architect A.S[6]., who started the construction for his house in Malu Mare in 1994 and finished it around 1998, but moved in permanently in 2003. He declares himself more than satisfied with his spacious house, the possibility to think about its shape over many years and the final accomplishment. He bought land in this area when the prices were very accessible. He made the project of other houses on the lots from Malu Mare. He knows the area and the natural conditions from this area very well, in this way contributing to the building of many other houses from the region.

Malu Mare village still keeps older constructions that preserve certain elements of old architecture. Very many people improved or extended the initial construction, as it can be noticed in the images.

The variety of the cultural landscape from the researched area impresses though the multitude of elements from the traditional architecture, through the surviving of certain details met in the boyars' houses, through the modernity of the new buildings, all these existing together along the route 55, near the city of Craiova, Romania. The social and the historical changes have always had consequences on the evolution of property, the alterations of the social representations, the social practices, and these are just few of the key specific elements from the period before and after the communist regime. The consequences of these periods have been mirrored along the time in the modifications that took place in the dynamic of mentalities and the radical changes on addressing the private property. Nowadays, it is acknowledged the right to individual property and this aspect have had one of the most varied consequences: the transformation of the agricultural lands in residential areas, the division into lots of the land, constructions made according to the individual's initiative, the mobility of the owners, flexibility, the development of the real estate market, the growth of the initiative, the development of entrepreneurial spirit and many others. The farming lands that remained with this status are worked by associations of land owners, the production being richer and consequently provided every year. There have been changed mentalities, there has been intensified the migration from the city towards the village, the number of the private investors from the area has increased, communication and transporta-

[6] A.S. – interview taken in September 2013 He is 56 years old, married, two children, three grandchildren, he is an architect and has his office in Craiova.

tion networks have been built with the neighbouring areas, the Customs from Bechet, Dolj County, Romania has developed. The rhythm of the development has boosted lately, investments are being performed in the area, the trade in being extended and new commercial spaces are being built. The development of the transport system from the area represents a necessity, the increased flux of population and goods will determine major changes regarding the traffic, especially on a road that leads to the Border between Romania and Bulgaria. The further studying of this area represents a challenge for sociologists and anthropologists.

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Part II

ROADS, CARS, AND MOBILITY

RICHARD VAHRENKAMP

Logistic Functions of Motorway Networks in Europe 1950–2000

Introduction

When one compares the transport system of railways to the transport system of cars and trucks on motorways in the context of the transport policy of the European Union then one can make an important observation: Whereas a passenger car or a truck loaded with merchandise can drive through Europe from Warsaw to Lisboa on the motorways with no stops when they cross a border, a railway cannot. At the borders a railway has to change the crews and the locomotives. A Polish driver can start his journey by car in Warsaw and can drive on the motorways through Europe to Lisboa without speaking any European language besides Polish, but a driver of a locomotive cannot. In every country the driver had to speak the respective language, whereas in air transport the pilots speak English as standard. The Polish driver on his journey does not meet any traffic light on the motorways, but the driver of a locomotive had to obey many signals of the train control systems.

The border controls of the different carriers for transports inside the European Union (respective the domain of the Schengen agreement) were extended to passport controls of passengers and to customs controls to compensate differences in the value added taxes for commercial exchange and to merchandise concerning safety of the consumers and the harmlessness of agricultural products. The carriers

– cars and trucks,
– inland navigation,

– short sea navigation (coastal navigation),
– air transport and
– railways

are considered. Whereas for cargo transport by trucks the European Union established a Europe wide uniform market without border controls, the short sea navigation and the railways could not succeed to abolish border controls at least for cargo transport until the end of the 20th century.

Unlike the United States, where the Motor Carrier act in 1935 provided the basis for a nation-wide truck transportation market, European transport markets remained fragmented until 1990. This paper focuses on the development transportation via of motorway networks, logistics and freight haulage dating from 1950 and it demonstrates how traffic policy of a gradually unified Europe shaped the development of logistics from its basic functions of transport, handling of cargo, and storage to the modern concepts of high performance logistics, including concepts of organization of worldwide supply chains and dimensions of quality in services, such as promptness and accuracy. Besides the political factor of the unification of Europe, one can distinguish economic factors concerning the development of a consumer-oriented economy.

The decades of the economic miracle in Western Europe after 1950, also called “trente glorieuses” or “miracolo economico”, mark an evolution of the consumer-oriented economy in Europe, which not only addresses mass consumption but also the mass production and mass distribution of consumer goods (Strasser 1998). Mass production, mass distribution and mass consumption constitute a system. The automobile industry and the automobile trade, which form the basis of mass mobilization, play an important role within the consumer goods industry. The automobile cannot be viewed as only an important consumer good, but also as a product which enabled purchases in distant central markets and the comfortable transport of large amounts of consumer goods. It created the precondition for the focus on large scale entities in the retail trade. Other strong sectors of the consumption-based economic system are banking services, insurance services and services of the tourist industry. However, those sectors are less important for the supply of goods and are therefore neglected in this research.

Mass motorization and the motorway network

In the decades following 1950, mass motorization strongly contributed to the economic miracle in Western Europe (see also Klenke 1993; Loubet 2001; Lundin 2004: 303–337; Paolini 2005; Thomas et al. 1998) . Automobile stock rose rapidly. In Western Germany, the growth rates of the 1950s amounted to 20 % per annum. Mass motorization got a fresh impulse from the reasonably priced, iconographic starter models: in Italy the Fiat 500, in France the Citroen 2CV, and in Western Germany the VW Beetle. The existing road system, which in many European countries did not include motorways, was unable to sustain the increasing motorization. There was said to be chaos and accidents on the roads[1]. In response to the insufficient road network and the increasing influence of the car lobby on traffic policy, European countries gradually extended the motorway network, which unburdened the roads and cross-town links and promised fast and comparably safe driving (Mom 2005: 745–772; Ross 1998: 86). The following table shows extension of the motorway network in the EU15 countries.

Country	B	DK	D	EL	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Year **1960**	183		2 671			174		1 065		358					202
1970	488	184	6 061	11	387	1 533		3 913	7	1 209	478	66	108	403	1 183
1980	1 203	516	9 225	91	2 008	5 264		5 900	44	1 780	938	132	204	850	2 683
1990	1 631	601	10 809	190	4 693	6 824	26	6 193	78	2 092	1 445	316	225	939	3 180
1998	1 682	861	11 427	500	8 269	9 303	103	6 453	115	2 360	1 613	1 252	473	1 339	3 421

Table 1. Length of the motorway network in the EU15 in kilometers.
Source: Eurostat (2002a: 1), World Road Congress (1969: 51)

The table shows how, the pioneers of motorway construction in the fascist era – Italy and Germany – started already after 1950 to extend their motorway network substantially, compared to France and England, where motorway construction was not pushed until the 1960s and 1970s (Moraglio 2007). Already by the 1950s, small countries such as Belgium and the Netherlands had substantially extended their motorway system in relation to their country size. Between 1950 and 1954, Western Germany only built 58 kilometers of motorway and focused more on the repairing

[1] We define motorways in this paper as junction-free roads with two lanes for each direction.

war damage. Expansion followed in the following years. Until 1961, 726 kilometers of motorway were built (Bundesminister für Verkehr 1961: 241). Despite little financial capital, the Federal Republic of Germany used the shadow budget of bonds as a way out in order to booster highway construction in the 1950s, which underscores the high priority of motorway construction (Bundesgesetzblatt I, 1955: 166–179).

The logistical function of motorways in the consumer-oriented economy

The extension of the motorway network has not only served the automobile, but also the rapidity and economy of truck traffic. It gave a decisive impulse to the truck-based logistic systems. In the political debate about expansion of the highway system, two aspects – the transportation of people by cars and the traffic of goods on the motorways by trucks – were viewed differently within European transport policy. In fact, German politics assigned goods transport to the railroad, and thereby pursued a twofold traffic policy: The motorway was mainly built for the automobile. However, this twofold traffic policy was short-sighted, as it did not address the economic rationalizing effects of truck traffic. Moreover, it impeded the development of logistics as a growing segment in the early phase of a modern service-oriented society: truck traffic decreased the costs and speeded up the transport of goods. In Germany, this aspect was not even considered in the research of economic effects of the motorway until 1970 (Frerich 1974).

In contrast to Germany, in Italy the aspect of rationalization of the goods traffic was one reason for the construction of the motorway, and was appreciated as transport "modernization" since the railroad showed very poor performance (Bonino and Moraglio 2006). Capital investment in railway modernization focused on the area of passenger transportation, so that rolling material in freight haulage was no longer current. Moreover, the railway could not be integrated into a modern logistical concept of time-based competition, since the freight train did not run on schedule (Kerwer 2001: 173–216). In England, the construction of highways began with detour roads around the cities of Preston and Lancashire so that the cross-roads were cleared and goods traffic was accelerated. Charlesworth (1984: 35) shows the lobby work of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce.

The development of truck traffic along the European motorway network is closely related to the evolution of modern logistical systems. Those evolved in the two main areas of the consumer-oriented economy: in the just-in-time delivery concept for automobile assembly facilities and in the build-up of modern distribution structures in the retail trade for the turn-over of goods in the already developed consumer goods industry.

If one includes the automobile industry into the branch of the consumer goods industry, one can assert the thesis that the consumer-oriented economy is based on modern logistics and vice versa. A consumer-oriented economy is characterized by a differentiated offer of mass customized goods in a consumer market where customers have a large choice of offers. The deliveries of goods are urgent. A rapid change of fashion and models on the consumer goods markets and time-based deliveries to the automobile assembly facilities require transports without delay. In European transport networks, this is only possible via truck, as door-to-door-transports without transfer, while the railway slackens in this system of time and quality competition (Vahrenkamp 2011).

The question concerning the development of distribution systems was put in context with the distribution of consumer goods, and was related to the expansion of department stores and the increasing presence of chain branches within the retail sector. For the first time, scientific marketing methods were implemented systematically in retail. Customer desires were to be scrutinized and, if necessary, sparked. Additionally, agile logistics had to deliver the goods to the store racks in time, in order to avoid empty racks which might cause antagonism and loss of customers, which is very easy on a consumer market that appears to have an almost unlimited offer of goods. This reveals a consumer orientation in modern logistics. In the academic theory of logistics, the location of production plants, as well as central and regional warehouses, was researched in order to minimize storage and transport costs and transport to the stores (ReVelle and Swain 1970).

The collapse of the Eastern bloc in the 1990s highlighted the different logistical structures in the East and West. In the following, the differences in transportation, logistics, and economic systems are to be revealed. The public economy of the Eastern bloc eliminated competition, preferred heavy industry and had the railway carry out transportation. Since its origin 175 years ago, heavy industry and railway have interacted. The railway's transport performance in the Eastern bloc rose from 82 billion tons kilometer in 1950 to 364 billion tons kilometer in 1980 (Dienel 1997: 404). The consumer goods industry, including automobile production, showed only weak performance. Poor motorization added no authority to the auto lobby in its effort to promote road construction. The problem of the lack of rural roads had been discussed in Russia since the 1920s, but had yet to be solved. The road network was in bad condition. Motorways existed – if any – only on short segments. The ambitious plans of the 1950s to build a motorway system from Western Russia to Central Europe was never achieved (Krüger 196: 157; Siegelbaum 2008: 157––160)[2]. Due to the lack of a developed consumer goods industry, including distribution systems supported by trucks, there was no modern logistics in the Eastern bloc that could be characterized by rapidity, precision and a large quantity of goods. There was rather only an intermittent delivery of underserved markets, whereas the quality of the supply was secondary in an economy of scarcity. Nor was the punctuality of the delivery most important, but rather that the delivery arrive at all at some point. The extraordinary delivery deadline of 13 years for a Trabant car in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) proves this aspect. Zatlin (1995) supports the view that the poor performance of the automobile industry has contributed decisively to the decline of the GDR.

The following figure depicts the logistic structure of a communist economy.

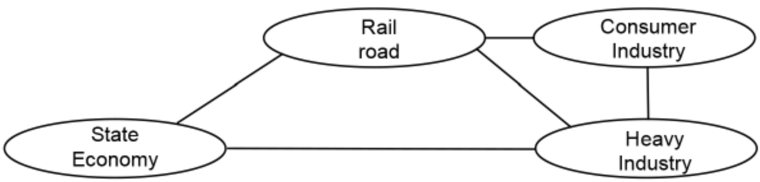

Figure 1. Logistic structure of a communist economy

The Western European development program of the consumer-oriented economic system varied to a large degree from the structures of the Eastern bloc. With the exception of secured public or quasi-public sectors, the market economy regulated competition among service

[2] For the Soviet model of economy see Judt 2005, chapter 13.

providers. The consumer goods industry and especially the automobile industry were very well-developed. The logistics of the developed consumer goods markets could profit from a close motorway network, to built-up structures of external suppliers in the automobile industry, and productive, truck-based distribution structures for the supply of a large variety of consumer goods. The following figure shows the logistical structure of the consumer-oriented economy:

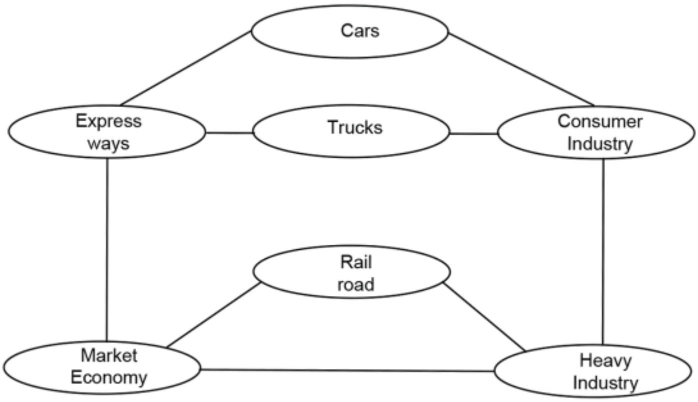

Figure 2. Logistical structure of the consumer-oriented economy

The following table compares the transport performance of the railway and truck in the EU15 in the years 1986 and 1990, and shows that progress was mainly made by the truck.

	Truck		Railway	Share of Railway in Percent
	1990	**1998**	**1998**	**1998**
UK	10 651	16 122	500	3,1
France	34 064	40 291	16 241	40,3
Italy	20 498	19 754	10 992	55,6
Niederlande	30 896	36 809	3 015	8,2
Spain	12 271	32 814	2 148	6,5

Table 2. Transport performance in Mio. tkm by railway and truck in the EU15 in the years 1986 and 1990. Source: Eurostat (2002b: 3)

Figure 3. Road Network in Czech Republic. Source: http://osmapa.pl

The European countries which were cut off from the European Economic Community (EEC). show paradigmatically how integration into the West has stimulated the transportation economy. For this reason, the motorway has been not only a means of transportation but also a political symbol of a new Europe.

First of all, gradual integration into the European Union (EU) and expansion of the motorway network can be exemplified by Czechoslovakia, or the Czech Republic. While already in the 1930s, the Czech military realized the dangerous one-sided dependence of national defense on the railway, and tried to increase flexible transport capacities with the truck, the country was, after 1945, initially subjected to the Soviet economic model (Oliva 2004). After 1980, the 300-kilometer long national motorway connection D1 between Prague – Brno – Bratislava could be put into service[3]. After the collapse of the Eastern bloc and the creation of the independent Czech Republic in 1992, the construction of the motorway D5 Prague – Pilsen – German border started, which was finished in 2006. This motorway was a traffic and logistics connection between the Czech Republic and Germany. When the Czech Republic joined the EU in 2004, the construction of the motorway between Prague and Dresden commenced.

[3] Data according to http://www.dalnice.com/ (accessed 15.02.2015). I thank Mr. Oliva at the University of Bordeaux for this advice.

Figure 4. Road Network in Spain. Source: http://osmapa.pl

Second, a similar process is to be found in the post-Franco-era in Spain. In 1975, the end of Franco's dictatorship, Spain had only motorways with a length of less than 1,000 kilometers, which consisted of unconnected parts (data according to ADAC Reisehandbuch 1975). Most notably, the capital (Madrid) was not connected with any coastal city. In 1980, the highway system reached the length of 2,000 kilometers. After Spain's entry into the EEC in 1986, the network was extended to more than 4,000 kilometers up until 1990 (see table 1). This had a direct impact on the transportation economy: In 1986, the number of trucks reached a value of 1.6 million, and the number of new truck registrations multiplied from 128,000 to almost double the amount, to 215,000 in 1988[4]. At the same time, the number of trucks which crossed the Pyrenees everyday increased from an average of 3,800 in 1986 to 20,000 at the turn of the millennium[5]. The traffic performance of the border-crossing traffic in Spain almost tripled from 12.2 billion tons kilometer in 1990 to 32.8 billion tons kilometer in 1998 (Eurostat 2002a: 3).

[4] Data of new registrations in Spain according to the archive DaimlerChrysler, Stuttgart. I thank Mr. Heintzer for his valuable support (The Europa year-book 1988: 2328).
[5] Data according to Transport Consulting Nea, Amsterdam, http://www.nea.nl (accessed 15.02.2015).

The automotive logistics of the automobile industry

This section deals with the Europeanization of the automobile industry. It focuses on how the "automotive logistics" sector emerged. Growth and high earnings during the years of the economic miracle enabled the well-unionized work force of the automobile industry to implement high company tariffs. Management balanced high costs and affordable end products. The outsourcing of production and logistics into sectors and countries with lower wages served as a way out of the cost trap. In 1988, the average hourly wage amounted to 18 euros for industrial workers in Germany, compared to Portugal where the hourly rate amounted to 3 euros (Eurostat 1989: 126). The transfer of warehouse operations and production supply processes to low-wage employees of the logistics trade lowered costs. This was the starting point for the development of just-in-time-delivery and the outsourcing of parts production to low-wage countries in the 1980s (Christopher 2005). Both developments gave a strong boost to the logistics industry to create a "modern logistics", which extended the basic functions transport and storage with the aspect of quality: rapidity, punctuality, low error rates and process control with the help of computer networks were in demand. In logistics trade, the separate business segment "automotive logistics" was created, which complemented the classical logistic functions with services and production steps, such as inventory management and re-ordering, packaging, pricing and pre-assembly.

The railway transport in Europe and transalp traffic

Up to the year 2000, European railway societies maintained a cartel of national regional monopolists. The railways that belonged to the respective countries developed national transport markets for bulk goods within their countries. National orientation created a number of impediments for the establishment of a Europe-wide market for railway transport (European Conference of Ministers of Transport 1985; Stone 2003; Kopper 2007). The market for railway rolling stocks in Europe was very fragmented within the separate countries. Consequently there were small, inefficient batches in orders of new wagons and locomotives. In railway engineer-

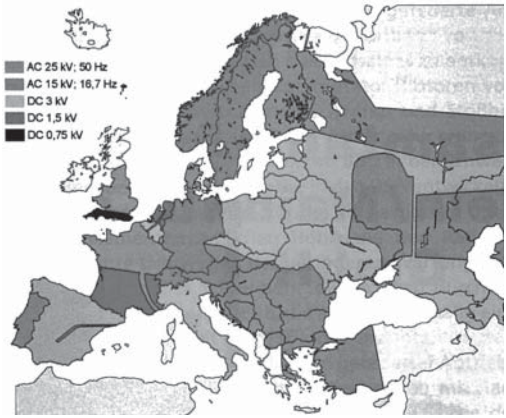

Figure 5. Railway Electrical Power Network in Europe.
Source: Elektrische Bahnen (2003 6: 262)

ing, there were 11 different power systems and 15 different operating systems within Europe (see figure 5). Along with that came national rules and standards for the operation of a particular railway, and the national language for the communication within the railway system – while in air traffic, English was already being used. Furthermore, the authorized axe load differed among the national networks, such that wagons of goods could not be used to full capacity in Europe wide circulation. This fragmentation required a shift of the locomotives and the staff at the respective borders, causing long delays. Each railway made its own pricing system. The additional expenses incurred remained obscure, and there were different opinions on liability, contract duration, and terms of payment.

The railway organizations in the European countries made the lion's share of their business with inland traffic. So they were not inclined to make substantial investment in unification to support cross border traffic. Furthermore the suppliers of railway equipment were strong industries in Spain, France, Italy and Germany that want to protect their market with national standards. In contrast to the United States where an automatic coupling for cargo wagons is used since 100 years, in Europe the railway companies could not find a common standard for automatic coupling.

Using the example of transalpine traffic between Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Italy, the problems of European railway cooperation can be demonstrated. At first, the railway was able to keep substantial market shares in competition with the truck due to the bottleneck at Alpine crossings. For a long time, rail was the most important means of transport for transalpine traffic, since in winter the mountainous crossings were almost insurmountable by truck. Significant use of the roads for goods traffic didn't start until the expansion of motorways across the Alps. In the 1960s, 98 per cent of the transport between Germany and Italy was performed by the railway (Bayliss 1965: 129). As a result, goods traffic via rail decreased year by year. In 1983, for the first time, more goods were transported via road than via rail in the Alpine rim.

An important aspect which needs to be considered for the interpretation of competition between road and rail in transalpine traffic is the quality of the transportation. If quality is measured by rapidity and punctuality – an important parameter for just-in-time cooperation – then railway transports show many shortcomings due to locomotive shifts at the borders. According to the logistics-center in Prien at Lake Chiemsee, delays of over half an hour in truck traffic between Munich and Verona affected merely 2% of the trucks. For railway traffic, however, 20% of the freight trains were affected, which can be ascribed to the lack of coordination between the three railway organizations existing in Germany, Austria, and Italy which monitor the transfer of locomotives and staff at the borders.

The motorway between Innsbruck and the Brenner Pass has a long construction history (Brenner-Autobahn AG 1972: 469-482). Already by 1963, the "Bridge of Europe" close to Innsbruck had been completed. With its avant-garde highway chapel, it gave travelers comfort and hope in approaching the dangerous Alpine crossing. The year 1972 was decisive for truck traffic in that the road between Bolzano and Verona was completed on the Italian side of the Alps. Due to motorway expansion, truck traffic showed explosive growth. In 1994, 132.8 million tons of goods crossed the Alpine rim, of which 50% accounts for transit, 15% for domestic traffic, and 35% for import and export traffic. Sixty-three per cent of the tonnages was transported via road and only 37% via rail. With this, almost ten million trucks crossed the Alps each year. In 1980, Switzerland was still able to report that 93% of its transalpine goods traffic was transported via rail and only 7% via road. With the opening of the Gotthardt Tunnel in 1980, goods traffic was relocated to the motorway A2. In 1994, the Swiss railway's market share was down to 74% (Kracke 1997: 23).

In order to limit truck traffic, transalpine goods traffic in Austria and Switzerland was subject to a large number of restrictions based on the respective national and transnational conventions.

Common traffic policy in Europe and the liberalization of truck traffic

Border-crossing road freight transport in Europe was only made possible via a number of international institutions and agreements (Bundesminister für Verkehr 1961; Trinkhaus 1998; Frerich, Müller 2004). The Economic Commission Europe (ECE), which organized the commission for domestic traffic, needs to be mentioned. Already prior to 1949, this commission had been enabling truck traffic. This was thanks to its convention on road traffic (also called "Freedom of Road"). Foreign trucks obtained the right to enter a country with their freight, whereas before the convention, the cargo had to be shifted to a domestic truck at the border (Schipper 2007). The commission for domestic traffic coordinated the Marshall Plan's aid supply which started in 1948. It also represented a field of policy for road and truck traffic expansion in order to compensate the railroad capacity constraint which followed the war. On May 19, 1956, the commission established the transport contract within the international road haulage (CMR), and the customs agreement on the international goods transport in sealed trucks with carnets TIR on 15 January, 1959. Therefore, custom checks for border-crossing transit transports became redundant. After all, the European conference of traffic ministers (CEMT), which was founded in Brussels in 1953 by Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, and Switzerland, helped tremendously in coordinating traffic policy in Europe[6]. It had the political goal of facilitating and easing the exchange of goods within Europe, and in 1960 it concluded an agreement at The Haag with respect to maximum size and weight of trucks.

Beside oversight of the European Economic Commission, there were bilateral agreements between two countries regarding the amount of truck

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[6] An important step for Western Germany to overcome the foreign-policy isolation. The report of the „European Conference of Traffic Ministers“ on 16 October, 1953 is published in the traffic paper 1954, pp. 178–180. By now, all European states (except Serbia), including Russia, form part of the CEMT, also Azerbaijan and Turkey.

allocations. These were determined annually by representatives of the Ministries of Transport. If the contingents were spent, there could be no further truck traffic. This shows how restrictive and inflexible traffic allocation system was, especially with regard to the constantly growing exchange of goods within the European Economic Community EEC.

The agreement for the foundation of the European Economic Community in 1957 aimed at developing a joint traffic policy to ease transnational goods traffic and to abolish barriers confronting the exchange of goods. The EEC agreement, under Title IV ("The traffic"), articles 70 to 84, required the coordination of European traffic policies. Conditions were to be formulated, under which traffic companies throughout the EEC were able to work. In particular, article 79 inhibits the discrimination of transport conditions based solely on the country of origin or country of destination (Trinkaus 1998, letter J211)[7]. Article 81 of the EEC agreement provides for a reduction in border taxes and fees. Articles 85 and 90 require free and fair competition in the economy, including the traffic sector. This was specified with the claim for free market access, the restraint of state subsidies, cartel bans, and the prohibition of abuse of power. However, it has been a long and difficult, 34-year way leading to the goal of a European-wide market with free access for transnational truck transport service.

What is most surprising about the EEC agreement is its clear market-based orientation, which differs tremendously from the economic and traffic policies of the individual member countries. At the peak of the Cold War, this orientation was to be understood more as an ideological differentiation to the Eastern bloc than a maxim for domestic policy. Moreover, it needs to be emphasized that the regulations of the EEC and the European Union referred to transnational traffic. Separately, each individual country can regulate its domestic traffic.

Traffic policy can draw on many instruments to regulate truck traffic[8]. There are three categories of instruments: regulation of market access, price regulation and regulation of operation, where taxes for the operation

[7] An example fort the discrimination is the transport of 100 tons steel plate. The prices for transportation via railway for a distance of 253 kilometers from Duisburg to Bingen amounted to 610 DM in July 1954. However, the price for a comparably long, but transnational roadway of 252 kilometers from Liege to Duisburg accounted for 378 DM (Bayliss 1965: 11).

[8] The regulation appeared for the first time in the 1930s in all European countries (Bayliss 1965).

of trucks, security standards for vehicles and drivers' working condition are set. If control of market access is reduced to subjective entrepreneur qualifications and if pricing is not subject to state requirements, this is considered liberalization of truck road haulage. In contrast, the operative regulation of truck road haulage is understood as the legal regulation of truck operation.

The common traffic policy of the EEC focused on truck traffic, which was easier to standardize than the area of railways, since these were state monopolies. In order to implement the requirements of Title IV of the EEC agreement pertaining to truck traffic, the EEC council of ministers had two main fields of policy: the liberalization and the harmonization of the operative truck road haulage regulations. Liberalization guarantees market access for foreign entrepreneurs in the home country, and creates competition in the hitherto isolated national markets. In the 1960s, truck industry regulation in the EEC countries showed varying levels. The countries which used the railway as an instrument for economic and social policy also combined regulation with a protection policy, restrictive licensing and price regulations. These countries include England, France, Belgium, and Germany. The Netherlands considered the transport sector as a regular economic sector without public obligations. Italy limited its railway policy to a deficit settlement (Bayliss 1965: 64). Harmonization alludes to the unification of national operative regulations. Differences distort competition and hinder the creation of a common traffic market. In the field of harmonization, the EEC launched a number of regulations (European Commission 2001, part 3).

For decades, the EEC's council of ministers was unable to put the liberalization requirements of Title IV of the agreement into practice, since some of the member countries initially aimed at harmonizing the terms of competition within the EEC. Among the member countries, Germany and France were interested in railway protection and used the broad harmonization policy to postpone liberalization. As a precondition, they combined liberalization with extensive harmonization. The Netherlands and England had already liberalized truck traffic at the end of the 1960s, and did not support railway-friendly politics. Hence, a conflict between harmonization supporters and liberalization advocates developed[9] (Frerich, Müller 2004: 128). According to 1983 estimates

[9] In England the market access and the pricing were liberalized since the 1960s (Laaser 1991: 192).

of the European commission, high railway deficits influenced opinions on traffic policy in some member states and “initiated them to judge the politics towards other carriers mainly on the basis of their effect on the railway”. The commission suggested investigating road haulage for “further possibilities, how the supply could be adjusted to the demand, which made the present system for capacity checks unnecessary at the very end.” (Europäische Kommission 1983: 6, 12).

As the conflict between harmonization supporters and liberalization advocates in the Council of Ministers caused a blockade of traffic policy for years, the institutions of the EEC developed an unpredictable dynamic. On January 22, 1983, the European parliament filed suit against the Council of Ministers at the European Court of Justice for failure to act. On May 22, 1985, the European Court of Justice enunciated a judgment against the Council of Ministers for failure to act (Blonk 1985: 97). Between 1985 and 1986, the Council of Ministers made decisions for the liberalization of road haulage. The existing discrimination on the side of any third parties due to bilateral quotas of truck rides was abolished in January 1992 with the help of a progressive and noticeable increase in multilateral joint quotas. In 1990, the truck transport tariffs in transnational traffic, which were created to protect the railway, were abolished and free market rates were enacted.

Compared to harmonization, which was subject to veto rule, liberalization was easier to achieve due to majority rule in the Council of Ministers. As a consequence, liberalization was realized without harmonization. For the establishment of equal market conditions, the important adjustment of truck taxes was not achieved until the turn of the millennium. In 1996, the tax burden for trucks in Europe ranged from 414 DM in Finland to 5,286 DM in Austria[10].

As a result of liberalization, the truck fleet increased sharply to 15.7 million in the years between 1980 and 1990, and in 1998 reached just 20 million, whereas in the decade between 1970 and 1980, the number of trucks rose only by 3 million to 10.6 million (Tronet 2002: 3). From 1990 to 1999, traffic performance in the EU climbed from 790 to 1,258 billion tons kilometer. This included 76% of traffic within distinct member states (Eurostat 2002a: 1; Tronet 2002). Liberalization lowered transpor-

[10] Data according to the Federation of German Long-Distance Hauliers. One US-Dollar equaled about 2.50 DM in the 1980s.

tation costs due to strong competition within individual countries. This enabled commercial freight haulage to secure its market share between 1985 and 1995 against transport on own account ("private carriers") in all EU countries except Italy and Portugal (see table 3).

	1985			1995		
	Own Account in Mio. t	Commer-cial Truck Transport in Mio. t	Share Own Account in %	Own Account in Mio. t.	Commer-cial Truck Transport in Mio. t	Share Own Account in %
Portugal	155,6	35,0	81,6	217,0	46,2	82,4
Luxembourg	10,2	0,9	91,9	22,7	5,7	79,9
Austria	–	–	–	98,2	79,5	55,3
France	789,1	408,8	65,9	694,7	629,4	52,5
Ireland	67,5	22,2	75,2	40,1	40,5	49,8
Italy	351,6	489,4	41,8	527,1	553,0	48,8
Germany	1 293,5	920,2	58,4	1 510,0	1 640,0	47,9
Greece	79,5	78,9	50,2	81,3	98,0	45,3
Belgium	150,7	114,7	56,8	149,4	199,8	42,8
UK	646,0	761	45,9	649,9	1 008,5	39,2
Netherlands	128,5	210,2	37,9	108,2	283,6	27,6
Denmark	65,0	134,9	32,5	47,0	129,0	26,7
Spain	244,6	668,7	26,8	145,1	443,1	24,7
Finland	–	–	–	70,5	278,6	20,2
Sweden	–	–	–	52,1	291,1	15,2
EU	**3 981,8**	**3 844,9**	**50,9**	**4 413,3**	**5 726,0**	**43,5**

Table 3. Commercial truck transport and trucks transport on own account in the Eorpean Union (ECMT 2001: 66)

The European Domestic Market as logistics promoter

The establishment of the European Domestic Market on January 1, 1993, and the conversion of the EEC into the European Union (EU) involved

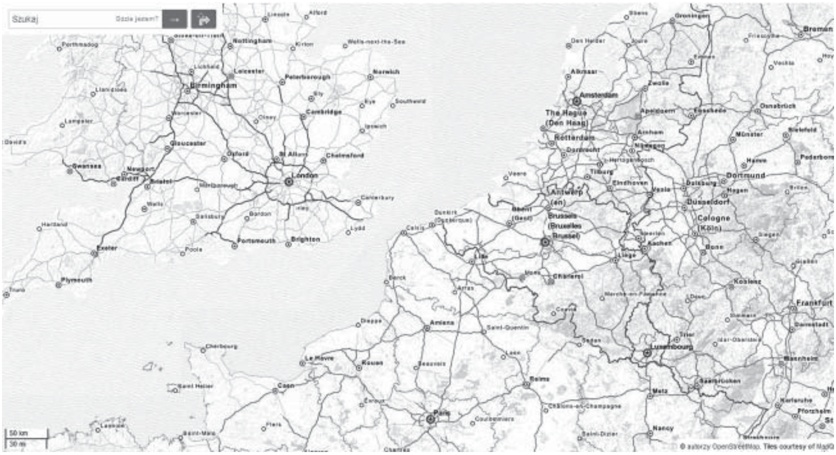

Figure 6. Section of Europe with a high concentration of population.
Source: http://osmapa.pl

the harmonization of fees, taxes, norms and regulations. Furthermore, it was characterized by the omission of border formalities for transnational freight haulage by truck. Until then, long delays at the borders were necessary for the compensation of various strict regulations in the member countries, which lead to long traffic jams for trucks[11]. The detailed investigations of the Cecchini Commission revealed that trucking companies suffered a loss of € 8 billion due to internal administrative costs and delays at the borders. This corresponded to approximately 2% of transnational goods value (Cecchini 1988). The waiting period reflected the processing of required documents at the border. These documents were related to different sales taxes and excise taxes, as well as varied sanitary and veterinary regulations for consumables. Moreover, different technical norms fragmented the market and impeded free goods traffic. Since 1993, those barriers with the exchange of goods and services no longer apply, and trucks can cross the borders without stopping.

The establishment of the European Domestic Market involved the liberalization of truck transport and lent strong support to the restructuring

[11] In 1986, at the motorway border crossing Kiefersfelden from Germany to Austria, the Federal Government considered a truck's hold of 1,200 meter length as necessary (*Bundestagsdrucksache* 10:5908: 2).

of a Europe-wide logistics and to the intensification of European division of labor. Industry locations and supplier plants could be dislocated because of powerful logistics. While until 1993, distribution systems of producers or trading firms were organized as national entities in Europe, the EU then enabled transition to a transnational form of organization with centers of distribution that were able to supply entire regions internationally. This can be best seen in the metropolitan areas of London, Paris, Brussels and Cologne. There are in total approximately 80 million consumers represented – while the regions around Paris, Brussels, and Cologne is also called "blue banana" in transport geography.

A central warehouse in Brussels or Lille can supply consumers in less than 24 hours with a truck-based supply network, making these locations very attractive for logistics in Europe. Since the opening of the Channel Tunnel ("Eurotunnel") in 1994 (Gourvish 2006), the former mining town of Lille, is located in the center of the metropolitan areas. The connection Calais–Folkstone is built up with a commuter rail which transports trucks piggy-back through the tunnel. The train ride from Lille through the Eurotunnel to London takes 90 minutes, to Paris 60 minutes, and to Brussels 30 minutes. The rides via truck are comparable. In 1998, the commuter rail transported 704,000 trucks (*Deutsche Verkehrszeitung*, 6 February 1999).

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WOJCIECH SZYMALSKI

LEWIS-MOGRIDGE POSITION IN THE CITIES – the example of Warsaw

Definition and background for Lewis-Mogridge position

Urban streets are taken by Lewis-Mogridge position. This, so called, iron law of congestion, describes the relationship between the construction of roads and road traffic. According to Mogridge (1990) traffic expands to meet the available road space, what can be paraphrased in an everyday language: “the bigger the roads the worse are traffic jams”.

The problem of traffic congestion in the motorized cities of developed countries has appeared in the 60s and 70s of twentieth century, when people began to notice the correlation between the road capacity and the number of cars moving on them. Apparently, during this period one of the greatest scholars of cities, American urban planner Lewis Mumford had expressed his view on city road construction programs quite bluntly: “Adding highway lanes to deal with traffic congestion is like loosening your belt to cure obesity.” Since then, research on these compounds, as well as on the prediction of traffic continued. Polish engineers also took part in building a global knowledge on the subject. Already in 1983, Wojciech Suchorzewski, in his study on road system capacity in downtown Warsaw made assumptions later formulated as a Lewis-Mogridge position, ie.: “Travelling by car is so attractive that the car is used to the extent resulting from the capacity of the road and parking system” (Suchorzewski 1983: 24). This means that traffic grows until the moment, when all the capacity of the roads and parking spaces in city is utilized. The results of this study are cited in subsequent sections of this article.

Lewis-Mogridge position was finally formulated after analysis of the relationship between the numerous investments and road traffic in London (Mogridge 1990). The occurrence of this law notes that the streets are not isolated from the transport system and change in the parameters of individual sections is changing the whole system, not just this one street. This law also indicates the importance of the so-called: traffic (mobility) induced by the road investment and the need for the study and forecasting of this phenomena. A broad overview of the issue of induced traffic as a result of infrastructure investment has been made, among others, in the framework of the roundtable 105 of the OECD European Conference of the Ministers of Transport (1998).

Threshold theory and Lewis-Mogridge position

Lewis-Mogridge position does not remain suspended in a scientific vacuum, and it is not a phenomenon that has been inferred without reliance on earlier theoretical work on the development of cities. Upon closer examination of the literature in this field, you can point out that this law is relating only to transport, but can be concluded on the basis on of much broader in sense threshold analysis proposed by Bolesław Malisz in the 60s of the twentieth century. Malisz (1963) found that while the number of inhabitants increases in a discreet way, public services in the form of urban infrastructure must be provided in a staggered manner, generating above-average expenditure relating to the crossing of the so-called: development thresholds. Staying in the sphere of transport considerations we can formulate a theoretical example of this observation.

The existing capacity of the single carriageway road in the city is running out after 10 years from its opening, due to population growth, land use development and the subsequent traffic growth. As a result, the transport system capacity is the limit of city development. Thus, the city authorities decide to intervene by widening the road to two-lane double carriageway to give a stepwise doubling of capacity and development potential. Demand for car transport, measured by the number of cars per inhabitant of the city, which was reaching the level of single-lane road capacity at the time of the opening of widened road is twice lower than the demand that could fill a two-lane road. It is expected, therefore, that if the demand (number of cars per inhabitant) will grow at the same pace as before, the capacity of the two-lane road is going to run out for a minimum of 10 years. The development threshold have been broken and new growth capacity delivered according to Malisz theory. This theoretical reasoning is perfectly legitimate and correct, however, under certain conditions. The main condition is that the intervention (road construction) was done exactly at a time when the growth in car ownership and population, resulted in exhaustion of the road capacity of existing single carriageway road. The example described is a classic case of the land use cycle initiated by the construction of a transport link, which is shown in the figure below.

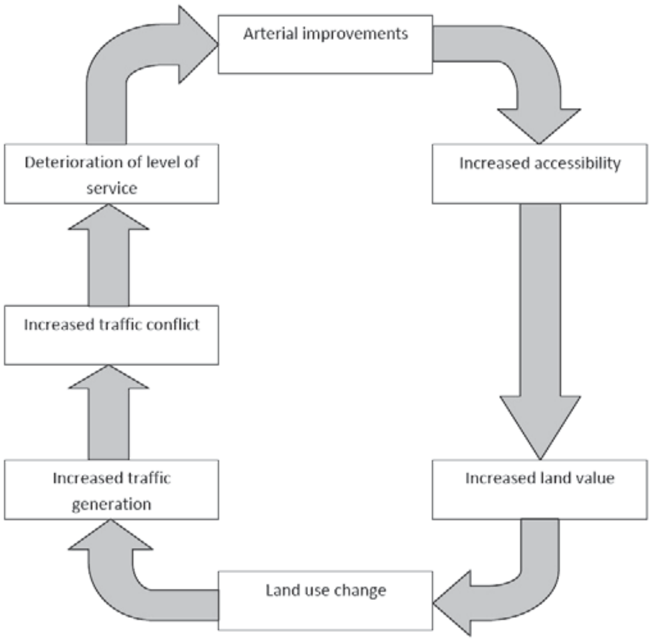

Figure 1. Road investments and land use cycle. Source: Stover, Koepke 2002

The process shown on the picture 1 have been described by Bronisław Malisz, but basing on his work we can draw a chart (figure 2) showing interdependence of development of the city (as a function of growing demand) with the development of infrastructure (a function of public services supply).

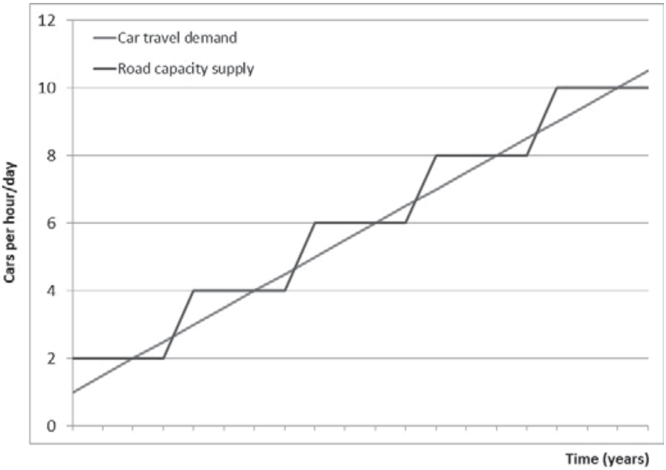

Figure 2. Interdependence of demand and supply of public infrastructure in the case of car transport when the road capacity is delivered timely. Source: own study

Described example is the positive effect, suggested by threshold analysis, which assumes that the city usually overcomes existing limits of development at the smaller or larger cost, depending on the time of intervention, because the number of urban dwellers is usually able to continue to grow. In contrast, Lewis-Mogridge position is part of the description suggested by the threshold analysis of Malisz in a way that signs a rather negative consequences. Let's take another theoretical example described below.

According to the threshold theory lack of infrastructure investment, restricts the further development of the land around it. Let's assume that the single-carriageway from the first example is not extended. The city development either in demographic or transport indicators can still occur, although the costs may be higher and the rate of growth lower than if there was a road investment (Kuciński 2000; Chmielewski 2001). Without road widening the existing road capacity ends, but the city can still develop with its transport needs catered by different transport modes than a car or by a wider means of communication. Some needs cannot be met effectively through travel by car, so people and goods benefit from other means of transport, if they have access to: public transportation or bicycles or even walking instead of driving a car and creating traffic jams. In this case alternative modes of transport to the car are driving the development of the city. Some people, when the road capacity is limited, adapt, if possible, their behavior:

– Satisfying their needs locally rather than traveling further away, eg. at a local store, not in a supermarket a few miles away;
– Using the broad sense of communication instead of transport, eg. calling instead of hanging out with someone directly.

The needs of people are met, even though the demand for transport is therefore smaller. In the extreme case, with the shortage of alternative means of transport and when the less basic needs are at stake people resign from satisfying their needs or satisfy themselves rarely, eg. visiting relatives on the other side of the city every month instead of every week. It is a matter of philosophical discussion whether the disability to meet these and other needs is a restriction of development of the city.

Such a situation in our example – shortage of supply of road infrastructure – continues for some time that the demand for car travel is suppressed – traffic jams are frequent, but the potential demand is increasing. People around the road settle, establish new economic activities and perhaps even buy new cars, but they do not use them too frequently satisfying their needs rather through other modes of transport and communication. As a result, not fully realized the demand for travel by car along the exemplary road reaches the level three times higher as the road capacity. At this point the decision on expansion of road from one to three lanes is taken, to bust the city development and leave some capacity for the future.

The suppressed demand can now become an existing demand. On the opening day of the wider road everyone who has so far kept his car in the garage, tempted by the promise of faster and more comfortable driving on the new road, put the key in the ignition and leave. Suddenly, road with three times higher capacity is entirely occupied by cars and bad traffic conditions are similar to those prior to the investment. In this case Lewis-Mogridge position worked. All development opportunities which new road had to give, were once exhausted. Spatial development has been made before the investment, thanks to other means of transport than the car. Demand for transportation infrastructure supply was provided with too much delay. After the investment further development of the city will still have to be done by public transport, cycling, walking or through meeting the needs of people in a different way than by car.

Using the threshold theory of Bronisław Malisz we can draw the chart below (il. 32) for this case.

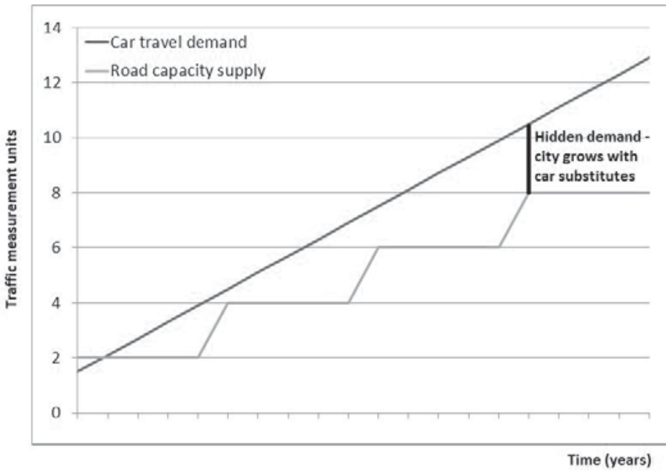

Figure 3. Interdependence of demand and supply of public infrastructure in the case of car transport when road capacity is delivered with delay. Hidden demand for car travel is filled in by the car substitutes, which drive the development of the city. Source: own study

Important in this theoretical example is the role of alternatives to road transport. The question arises, on the grounds of threshold theory, whether, the introduction of public transport in the city, after the exhaustion of the capacity of roads, is a way to overcome the threshold of development of the city or the necessary additional city maintenance cost arising in the city budget because of the undefeated developmental threshold, which is the exhaustion of the capacity of existing roads in the city? One thing is certain, the city's development is possible without increasing the role of road transport and can be controlled by stimulating public transport and other forms of transportation within the city.

Lewis-Mogridge position in Warsaw

It is time now to answer the question of how the considerations from the previous subheadings are to the road traffic of a particular city – Warsaw.

Figure 4. Projected road network of downtown Warsaw for 1990 analyzed by Suchorzewski in his study from 1983. Source: Suchorzewski 1983

In 1983, Wojciech Suchorzewski assessed the capacity of the road system in downtown Warsaw with prediction for a year 1990. The professor stated that: “When the number of vehicles on the road network downtown at rush hour reaches 30 thousand cars, on almost 50% of the road network length traffic load will be close to the capacity or exceeding it” (Suchorzewski 1983: 38).

He considered this situation as a possible tolerance limit of the car user. Taking into account the assumption of Suchorzewski that in 1990 Warsaw will have 180–240 cars per 1000 inhabitants, it was calculated that the downtown Warsaw could be entered by a maximum 50% of a potential cars (50% of all of those, who would wish to do so). The remaining 50% of the cars, was a potential, suppressed demand for car travel in the city (Suchorzewski 1983). In 2002, the average rate of car ownership indicator for the Warsaw city was already 411 vehicles per 1,000 inhabitants, and in 2012 – 580 vehicles per 1,000 inhabitants (GUS 2004; GUS 2014). It was twice as much than assumed by the professor. Thus, the demand for road transport in Warsaw is now even greater than in 1990, when it was expected to be impossible to enter all the cars to downtown because of the physical limitations of the existing space. So it can be concluded that in Warsaw Lewis-Mogridge position should work, at least in the area of the analysis of Suchorzewski from 1983.

Area analyzed by Suchorzewski was limited with the mileage of ring road, ie. Słonimskiego, Obozowa, Towarowa, Raszyńska, Batorego, Spacerowa streets, as well as the Vistula river. Assumptions of the analysis provided for the construction of Trasa Świętokrzyska in downtown, together with a new bridge and widening of some of the inlets to the area, for example: Prosta street, which have not been realized to date. Thus it can be concluded that the supply of road infrastructure in the center of Warsaw is perhaps now a bit smaller than in the analysis of Suchorzewski.

One of the access roads to the city center, which during the last 15 years, much expanded, is Górczewska Street. In the years 1999–2006, expansion of individual sections of the road from city boundary to the downtown Warsaw continued. Górczewska ends up on the Młynarska Street bumping into Leszno Street, which leads further in to the Center. In

Figure 5. Investments in road capacity expansion in Warsaw from 2000 to 2012. Among all of them Górczewska Street. Source: own study based on Mapa Warszawy – podkład lokalizacyjny, CC-BY Mfloryan. Source: ttp://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Warszawa_outline_with_districts_v4.svg, Accessed 06.02.2015

2013, an enlarged last section of Górczewska between the city boundary and Lazurowa was finished and opened (Osowski 2013).

What was brought about by this expansion? First of all, on the entire route from the city boundary to Okopowa (Górczewska and Leszno Streets together) drivers now have 2×3 lanes and in selected places only 2×2 lanes to utilize, so theoretically the street capacity is 3000 vehicles per hour (calculated by the narrowest capacity segment). Previously, the street had cross-section of 1×2 lanes, it was a typical single carriageway two-way street.

According to the Lewis-Mogridge Position road traffic on this street should double as its capacity and this rise should be fast. This actually happened. Let's look at the numbers, from automatic measurements of traffic carried by the Authority of City Streets (ZDM).

Table 1. Peak hour traffic (cars per hour) in direction to city centre for selected measurement points along Górczewska.

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Górczewska (city boundary)	600	620	600	650	659	713	636	646	651	606	608	573	584	563
Górczewska (middle circle)	1300	1050	1100	1444	1702	1790	1400	2270	2598	2395	2355	2714	2257	1877
Leszno (city center circle)	bd	bd	bd	bd	bd	bd	bd	1220	957	1042	959	1093	1244	1068

Table 2. Road capacity utilisation for Górczewska middle circle measurement point.

Road capacity (middle circle)	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500	3000	3000	3000	3000	3000	3000	3000
Road capacity utilisation	87%	70%	73%	96%	113%	119%	93%	76%	87%	80%	79%	90%	75%	63%

Table 3. Daily traffic (cars per day) in direction to city center for selected measurement points along Górczewska.

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Górczewska (city boundary)	8100	8700	8500	7900	9273	9221	9405	9347	9126	9044	9431	8943	8606	8185
Górczewska (middle circle)	13800	11700	13000	16384	18176	18687	16809	21239	24358	25431	25257	28450	26437	20835
Leszno (city center circle)	bd	bd	bd	bd	bd	bd	bd	12666	12954	14870	11139	15297	16298	13190

Figure 6. Source: own study based on data collected with a correspondence with ZDM number ZDM-ZTBR-MKR-5551-36-2-13 from 24 September 2013 and subsequent addendum ZDM-ZTBR-MKR-5551-36-4-13 from 5 December 2013. Part of the data (years 2011, 2012 and 2013) is published in the ZDM website: www.zdm.waw.pl, Aaccessed 01.08.2014[1]

[1] Annotation to the table 2: „It was assumed that theoretical capacity of road lane is 1500 vehicles per hour according to the theoretical studies. It is true that with speed of 30–50 km/h, which occur mostly in the cities, theory foresees capacity in the range of 1800 to 2000 vehicles per hour, but in city traffic, there are additional capacity limitations resulting from flow disturbances caused by vehicle crossings, in particular with traffic lights, parking of vehicles and similar phenomena. For example, in Wroclaw the study "Analysis of capacity of roads in Wrocław Agglomeration" (Via Regia 2009) adopted the capacity of one lane as only 800 vehicles per hour (Via Regia 2009: 23), although noted that the capacity of two-lane dual-carriageway road in ideal road conditions is 1700 cars per hour for a lane" (Via Regia 2009: p.22).

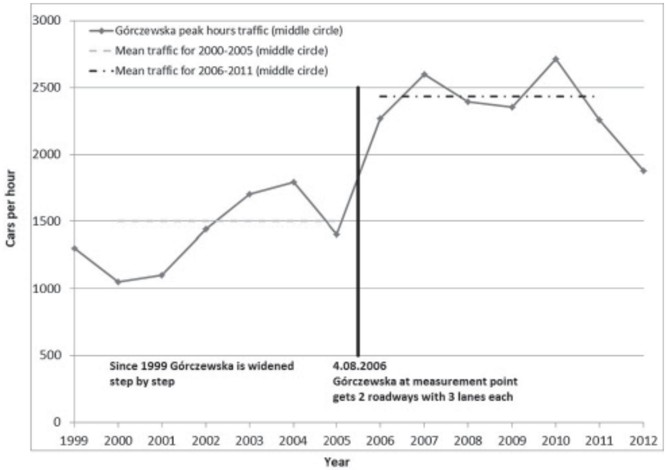

Figure 7. Morning peak traffic and investment on Górczewska Street.
Source: own study

ZDM measures the volume of traffic along the Górczewska Street in three points:
– on the border of the city (exit routes),
– on the bridge over the railway line (middle circle) and
– on Leszno Street (city circle).

These measurements show in 2006 a sudden, almost a twofold increase in the number of cars on the inner circle, from approx. 1400 vehicles per hour on average during the peak morning hours during the 6 years prior the investment (2000–2005) to the app. 2400 vehicles per hour on average during the peak morning hour in over the next six years after investment (2006–2011), with no further upward trend. On a daily traffic it was an increase from approx. 15,000 cars a day to 25,000 cars daily. What caused this increase? In 2006 the widened section of Górczewska Street between Silesian Insurgents Street and railways at Wola Park, when the measurement point lies was opened. From this year Górczewska on its almost length has 2 carriages with 3 lanes each (Osowski 2013).

However, this increase in traffic could happen due to the transfer of cars from other streets to the wider Górczewska. Such thesis can be easily dismissed by the measurements of the ZDM on middle circle point of the nearest streets parallel to Górczewska. Neither on Squadron 303 Street nor on Połczyńska Street the traffic significantly dropped in 2006.

Table 4. Peak hour traffic on Górczewska and neighbouring measurement points (cars per hour).

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Górczewska (middle circle)	1300	1050	1100	1444	1702	1790	1400	2270	2598	2395	2355	2714	2257	1877
Dywizjonu 303 (middle circle)	bd	bd	bd	bd	bd	1259	1348	1332	1238	1387	1161	1038	1463	1281
Połczyńska (middle circle)	bd	bd	bd	3271	3425	3293	3279	3277	3210	3216	2814	2864	2019	2916

Il. 37: Source: own study

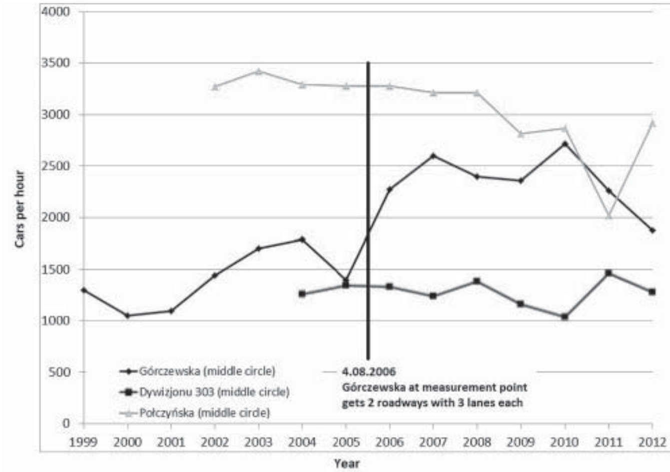

Figure 8. Peak hour traffic on Górczewska and neighboring streets. Source: own study

Widening of Górczewska Street was done to avoid traffic jams, but instead more cars was able to get into the city center of Warsaw and traffic jams are even bigger. 2400 cars per hour makes 80% of Górczewska Stret capacity and yet this capacity is limited with the traffic light at the intersections. This means that traffic jams may occur on Górczewska frequently, with more car on the road than before. Lewis-Mogridge position works!

The example of Górczewska Street is located outside of the area analyzed by Suchorzewski in 1983, which shows that the current 'hidden' demand for car transportation in Warsaw can cause Lewis-Mogridge position working throughout the city, not just downtown. Besides, such a finding is not only justified with this example, but it is an outcome of an analysis of 12 years of road investments (from 2000 to 2012) in Warsaw, conducted as part of a series of articles titled: *Lewis-Mogridge position in Warsaw* (Szymalski 2014). This cycle showed that Lewis-Mogridge position in Warsaw is working:

– for investments close the downtown of the city, for example Świętokrzyski bridge; and
– on the city boundary, for example Modlińska Streets and Łukasza Drewny Street.

The diversity of the analyzed investments also shows that Lewis-Mogridge position may occur regardless of whether extension of capacity is made:

– on the road leading to the city center (Górczewska), or
– having the nature of bypass (Siekierkowski Bridge and Highway), whether it is
– increasing the capacity of the intersection by the construction of flyovers (Roundabout Starzyńskiego), or
– the construction of a new bridge (Curie-Skłodowska Bridge).

Lewis-Mogridge position and the development of the city transport system

Lewis-Mogridge position occurs in urban areas wherever the potential demand for traffic is higher than the capacity of the road system. Such situation is a fact in Warsaw as it was showed earlier on figures relating to the number of vehicles per 1,000 inhabitants. In such places the determining factor for the intensity of traffic is the road infrastructure supply, not the demand for car travel. Demand may in fact be realized only to the extent of supply, which is provided by the infrastructure, whereas the excess of demand is not realized and creates a potential, hidden, suppressed demand. As a result, when implementing transport policies much less important are the factors affecting road traffic such as:

– An increase in the number of inhabitants of the city and the individual districts;
– An increase in the number of vehicles (expressed with an indicator of the number of cars per 1,000 inhabitants);
– Increase in the number of destinations (eg. new shopping centers);
– The availability of fuel (measured by the price of fuel);
– The availability of (or a must!) alternatives to car travel.

Because all these factors influence the demand for car travel in the city, which for the most part cannot be realized due to limited supply. Generalizing the previous deliberations and conclusions steaming from

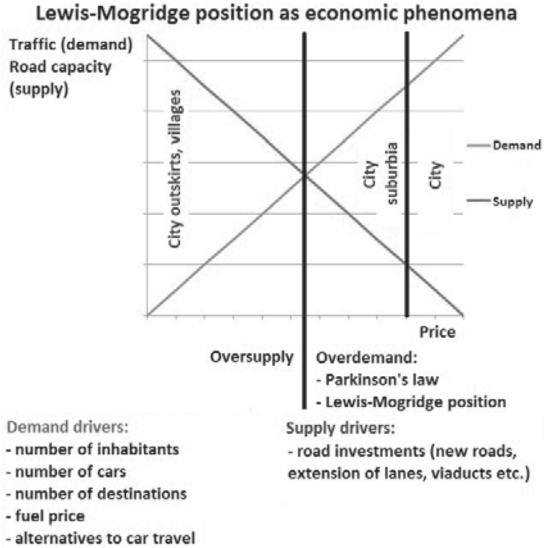

Figure 9. Summary for the Lewis-Mogridge position occurrence in relation to city boundary. Source: own study

the fact that Lewis-Mogridge position works in urban areas a drawing can be constructed, which indicatively shows the ratio of demand to supply as a function of the position of the road in relation to the urban area.

As can be inferred from the figure road investment has a chance to trigger appropriate land use cycle outside the city, where no excess of demand for car travel exists, so Lewis-Mogridge position, too. Such land use cycle can be observed today, eg. along the S8 from Radzymin to Wyszków, which was put into service in 2008 and attracts new investors. This land use cycle was active in Łomianki from the 70s of the twentieth century, when the bypass of S7 road was built around it. A set of maps have been prepared to show, how the new development were moving Łomianki closer to the road build in 1974. Roads can generate development in such circumstances.

In contrast, in the city the development is generated by public transport, cycling and walking – land use cycle is continued after the exhaustion of the capacity of road infrastructure. The best example of this type of development are new settlements arising after the final opening of the Warsaw metro line nr 1. In 2002–2006 flourishing development activities took place in Kabaty upon completion of subway line in the course to the city Center, and from year 2008 the development moved to Bielany, when the metro line was finished. Higher development of new buildings was caused also by integration of city public transport and railway ticket tariffs in 2008. In this case mostly Rembertów, Włochy and Ursus districts benefitted however, no new road investments were made connecting this districts with the city center. Warsaw "City", which is a quarter of high buildings restricted by Emilii Plater, Al. Jerozolimskie, Al. Jana Pawła II and Świętokrzyska Streets, was also created mainly by the existence and improvement of public transport in the area: Central Station, subway line nr 1, tram networks - road network expansion has not been here for a very long time. More and more workers of this type of office areas commute to work by bike, and business and entertainment needs they enjoy on foot in the nearby bars and shops.

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DAWID KRYSIŃSKI

THE "SYMBIOSIS" OF A PRIVATE VEHICLE AND A PRIVATE LIFE
Reflections about the role of the car in Poland

Introduction

Modern transport policy has tried to create a city in which private automobility would be basic and the most important type of transportation. The modern specialist imagined a city as a space filled by infrastructure for cars: wide streets and complex hubs, also in the central part of cities. In their opinion, car would replace any other way of commuting, such as public transport and pedestrian walking. The consequences of the modern vision turned out to be unexpected. The public and scientific discourse involved many examples which show how the automobility negatively influences natural environment, public space and urban structure (Molecki 2010; Gadziński 2010; Wesołowski 2008). Mobility based on private cars is not as effective as it was expected by modern urban planners and transport engineers, and led to the congestion generated by private cars (Rozkwitalska 1997). As a result, the contemporary, postmodern specialists suggest radical turn in the urban policy. They argue that local governments should search for more effective organization of urban mobility and try to develop alternative means of transportation (Buehler, Pucher 2011). This point of view is based on some positive experiences of West European cities which try to reduce number of car's journeys and promote alternative ways of commuting, such as bicycles or public transport connections (trams, buses and urban railways). The

Polish postmodern transport policy often refers to these experiences and describes desirable scenarios of change.

Although the postmodern specialists agree that the car could not be definitely eliminated from the current social life, at the same time they identify present-day journeys, in which private autos could be replaced by another ways of transportation. As a consequence, specialists' efforts are concentrated on the quantitative analysis of using a car. The scientists try to compare speed, costs and comfort provided by various means of transport, using questionnaires which are based on questions about importance of these factors (Hebel, Grzelec 2008; Hebel 2010). This point of view is based on the presumption that people would choose the type of traveling which enables faster journeys in better conditions (air conditioning, seating place, short distance between home and stops, short waiting time for bus or tram etc.). Due to this fact, the role of the car is limited by postmodern transport policy (also in Poland) to the spatial mobility. Although these findings are useful for shaping measureable parameters of local transport strategies, it may lead to groundless reduction of the analysis. It should be emphasized that using a car sometimes means something more than simple moving from one place to another. In this context, if we would like to understand a real role of the car in social life, we should rather describe the automobility as a complex system that effects a drivers' personal identity, social relationships shaped by families and local communities, rules at work, social inclusion and exclusion, gender etc. (Urry 2004). In this alternative perspective the process of recognizing the role of the car is not restricted to the spatial mobility context, because people may use the car even if it is not the most effective way of travelling (which enables the shortest journeys and offers the best comfort at the same time). As a result, this browder point of view suggests that the research analysis should not be based only on the quantitative methods which focus on statistical rank of the factors mentioned above: speed, cost and comfort of journeys. A various social and cultural aspects of the automotive, such as relationships between private car and personal identity or possibilities to resign from using the car (which are under the influence constructed rather by the society than individuals) also should be taken into account. Therefore, the research projects should be based on the qualitative methods of analysis which may provide more detailed information about using a car, especially when it is understood as the complex system mentioned above. It provides a chance to understand "the ordinary and positive everyday-life experiences that million have with the car" (Urry 2004).

The aim of this paper is to find an answer to the two following research questions by using the qualitative methods of analysis:

1. Could the car be replaced by other means of transport?
2. Is the private car the inherent part of life in the postmodern reality?

The answers to these questions will be collected from the biographical interviews with Polish drivers that were conducted in May 2013 (in Wroclaw). We will try to show that the qualitative research methods lead to additional conclusions which suggest that the shift from the domination of private cars to the popularization of bicycles and public transport depends not only on the effectiveness but also on various functional and symbolic aspects connected with the shape of current culture.

Theoretical background

During the first decades of 20th century the mobility was analyzed with respect to the spatial movement of people and goods. The modern specialists' efforts mentioned above were focused on achieving the best capacity of roads, because it was supposed that the car will enable, thanks to the road investments, fast and easy access to the various and functionally differentiated parts of the city (Cerny 1990; Sachs 1992). These efforts, however, proved to be ineffective due to the fact that new roads did not managed to handle the increasing traffic. Nevertheless, this modern vision radically changed the practices of city inhabitants. As Alan Thein Durning noted, "access through mobility has involved incredible number of cars. (…) People want to have access to things – services, locations, facilities. They want to stop at the health club, pick up some groceries, drop by a friend's, and still get home from work at a reasonable hour" (Durning 1996). As John Urry added, automobility "reconfigures civil society, involving distinct ways of dwelling, travelling and socializing in, and through, an automobilised time-space" (Urry 2007).

The modernism created new kind of people who treat the private car as one of the most important things in their life and involve this item into all daily, routine practices. But the modern way of thinking provided changes also to the another social actors, such as public and non-public organizations, employees and corporations. All of them reshaped their own work and supply systems. What is more, the expansion of automobility resulted in simultaneous spatial expansion of markets. These processes also affected the workers who had to respond to the specific requirements constructed by the employers. So called postfordism means not only more flexible system of production but also increasing flexibility of employees who have to be ready to:

– work in different times and places,
– cooperate with various companies which play a role of subcontractors or cooperators,
– sell products based on active marketing outside the offices.

All these aspects lead to an intensive development of automobility – the a worker without a car and driving license seems to be useless from the point of view of the organizations and corporations. In this context, using a car is rather social coercion than the result of independent, rational decision of individuals.

However, irrespective of the factors described above, the automobility's expansion also means the development of the industry focused on producing and maintaining cars, fuels and additional equipment for vehicles. As Jeremy Packer noted, "Automobility must necessarily be understood as a global system that creates and sustains international dependencies forged by increased automobile use, manufacture and trade" (Packer 2008). It also enables development of the marketing aimed at the further popularization of private car, especially through referring to the preferences expressed by potential car owners and to symbolic aspects of using a private vehicle. In this context, private car can be seen as an item which creates patterns of individual or group consumption, emphasizes social divisions between social categories and, finally, influences the personal identity. Taking into account the multidimensional significance of the car, John Urry, Kingsley Dennis and Mimi Sheller noted that the automobility is:

> 1. the major item of individual consumption which provides status to its owner through its sign values (such as speed, security, safety, sexual desire, career success, freedom, family, masculinity) and through being easily anthropomorphized by being given names, having rebellious features, seen to age and so on.
> 2. the predominant global form of 'quasi-private' mobility that reorganizes how people negotiate the opportunities for, and constraints upon, work, family life, childhood, leisure and pleasure.

> 3. the dominant culture that sustains major discourses of what constitutes the good life, what is necessary for an appropriate citizenships of mobility and which provides potential literary and artistic images and symbols.
> 4. an extraordinarily powerful complex constituted through technical and social interlinkages with other industries, car parts and accessories; petrol refining and distribution; road-building and maintenance; hotels, roadside service areas and motels; car sales and repair workshops; suburban house building; retailing and leisure complexes; advertising and marketing; urban design and planning; and various oil-rich nations
> 5. the quintessential manufactured object produced by the leading industrial sectors and the iconic firms within 20th-century capitalism (Ford, GM, Rolls-Royce, Mercedes, Toyota, VW and so on), and the industry from which the definitive social science concepts of Fordism and post-Fordism have emerged.
> 6. the single most important cause of environmental resource-use
> (Urry 2004; Dennis, Urry 2009; Urry, Sheller 2000).

Therefore, "the term 'automobility' captures a double-sense, both of the humanist self as in the notion of autobiography, and of objects or machines that possess a capacity for movement. (…) This double resonance of 'auto' demonstrates how the 'car-driver' is a hybrid assemblage of specific human activities, machines, roads, building, signs and cultures of mobility". In the context of that complexity, Urry noted "automobility can be conceptualized as a self-organizing autopoeitic, non-linear system that spreads world-wide, and includes cars, car-drivers, roads, petroleum supplies and many novel objects, technologies and signs. The system generates the preconditions for its own self-expansion. (…) It is through automobility's restructuring of time and space that it generates the need for ever more cars to deal with what they both presuppose and call into existence" (Urry 2004; Dennis, Urry 2009).

The conceptions which see automobility as the autopoeitic, complex system are a new perspective for both technical and social sciences. As it was mentioned in the Introduction, the technical sciences focus on the quantitative aspects of the spatial mobility, while social disciplines (especially sociology) ignored until recently this theme, excluding overall reflections of 19th century sociologists concerned about the processes in early industrial societies. Georg Simmel, for example, recognized new forms of spatial mobility as a tool which shaped identity of inhabitants of modern, industrial cities and released them from the strong social control (characteristic of pre-modern communities) (Urry, Sheller 2000). However, "in the sociological canon the term 'mobility' is usually equated with the idea of 'social mobility', referring both to individual movement up or down the hierarchy of socioeconomic classes and to the collective positional movement of social groups or classes. (…) This positional understanding of mobility still predominates in (…) sociology, and studies of geographical mobility are limited to the specific subfields such as migration studies, labor studies, or urban community studies which generally treat mobility as the spatial movement from point A to point B" (Sheller 2014). The perspective outlined by John Urry, Kingsley Dennis and Mimi Sheller tries to construct a new paradigm which leads to using alternative research methods. Among many new ways of analysis, such as "interactional and conversational analysis of people as they moved, mobile ethnography involving itinerant movement with people and other kinds of objects or computer simulations", they suggest to conduct interviews about mobility which will be based on autobiographical narrative created by drivers or passengers.

The authors also show an interesting background for these interviews, referring to the Bruno Latour's Action-Network-Theory. In their opinion, this theoretical perspective "pay close attention to a whole range of infrastructures, technical objects, prostheses, and embodied practices that assist (or disable) mobility". In this point of view, "everything from shoes and bikes (…) motor vehicles (…) laws and zoning codes, are part of the sociotechnical assemblages or human/material hybrids that perform mobility systems" (Urry, Sheller 2000). As a result, a research projects focusing on the relationship between all these items and people who use cars seem to be very helpful for understanding a role which the automobility plays in the current social life. The autobiographical narrative provides more opportunities to show how the cars and their owners interact, especially when a private vehicle is analyzed as a tool which creates personal identity, builds and changes power relationships in families and communities, improves flexibility of individuals, puts the pressure on a shape of their spatial practices and gives them chances to overcome spatial barriers (Nowak 1998). According to this fact, using a results obtained by means of the interviews thus gives broader opportunities for the profound exploration of the first three aspects of the automobility complex system (in which the car is treated by Dennis, Urry and Sheller as: the predominant global form of 'quasi-private' mobility, the dominant culture, and, finally, an extraordinarily powerful complex). The areas are examined from the individual perspective, in which experience of the drivers and passengers plays a crucial role. Contrary to the quantitative methods, the autobiographical narrative explores layers of consciousness which reveal the role played by the car at different life stages, and show how previous experiences with a private vehicle condition and shape the next ones. Thanks to the possibilities offered by the qualitative methods, postmodern transport policy would be able to better recognize perspectives for popularization of the alternative ways of transportation. According to the complex perspective, these research projects should not, however, replace the quantitative analysis. In this alternative point of view, they both build an image of relationship between the automobility and the current culture, using different tools and providing another kind of complementary information. Therefore, one of the aims of this paper, apart from giving the answer to the research questions, is to add some reflections to the discourse which has been created mainly by technical scientists, but increasingly also by sociologists.

In this article, we examine three areas which are not similar to the three aspects mentioned at the beginning of the previous chapter, but closely and strictly connected with them. Firstly, we check how in this context car influences a role and position of individuals in families and communities. Secondly, we try to describe links between the private vehicle and the personal identity of its users. Finally, we show how the automobility pressures the shape of social practices, especially if they are based on spatial mobility.

First context: the private car, individualization and social relationships

Postmodern reality is usually characterized by the tendency to "privatization" of individual existence (because of declining social pressure aimed at shaping and controlling social activities) and individualization of their lifestyle. As Ulrich Beck noted, "individualization consists (…) in establishing *de jure* autonomy", but, on the other hand, it also creates a new form of pressure, because "no more are human born being 'born into' their identities (…) it is not enough to be born a bourgeois, one must live one's live as a bourgeois" (Beck, Beck-Gernsheim 2002). One of the factors which leads to the increase of individuality is constituted by the changes on labour market. Beck also emphasizes that "as soon as people enter the labor market, they experience mobility. They are removed from traditional patterns and arrangements and, unless they are prepared to suffer economic ruin, they are forced to take charge of their own life. The labour market, by way of occupational mobility, place of residence or employment, type of employment, as well as the changes in social location it initiates, reveals become relatively independent of inherited or newly formed ties (e.g. family, neighbourhood, friendship, partnership). By becoming independent from traditional ties, people's lives take on independent quality which, for the first time, makes possible the experience of personal density" (Beck, Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Also Rene Levy, Jacques-Antoine Gauthier and Eric Widmer say that the postmodern individualization "negates any form of standardization and postulates that individuals more or less freely choose their life courses, so that regularities in sequences or timing should no longer appear" (Levy, Gauthier, Widmer 2013).

The primary consequence of these changes is the tendency to reduce the number of social relationships with other citizens. The private car seems to correspond and strengthen these trends because of its technical nature. In the discourse shaped by the questioned drivers, the vehicle is seen as a part of private reality, similar to home which is unavailable to strangers. Car users place personal things into the vehicle; they also change clothes inside, eat, sing, cry, scream and so on. In their opinion, the car is a typical private space, separated from the environment by locks, steal and glasses. Therefore, the interior of the car is seen as a mobile part of home, accessible only for its owners who are allowed to organize this space in the way they want. No one else should see or hear how the driver and passengers act inside the car, and if strangers are interested in the activities performed in a private car, they are treated as intruders who invade the personal space of others.

The private car is the only type of transport which allows to "*move*" the home space from place to place. But it also enables reducing the number of interactions with other users of urban public space. When people use the car, they are "encapsulated in a domestic, cocooned, moving capsule" (Urry 2007; Whitelegg 1997). Commuting from one place to another, thus, means that the driver and passengers are closed in an iron cage which strongly limits or eliminates opportunities for establishing contact with pedestrians and other drivers. On the one hand, it corresponds with the tendencies which are characteristic of post-modern reality, as the nature of the car both forces, enables and strengthens social isolation and privatization – the social phenomenon which people are looking for.

On the other hand, these phenomena also have a base, because the car owners try to avoid unsafe places and dangerous people. Taking into account features of the iron cage, the private vehicle ideally corresponds with these efforts, enabling people to travel from one place to another without any contact with the surroundings. These kinds of behaviour are supported by the special infrastructure (such as undergrounded car parks and garages) which leads to driving up to the "door" as close as it is possible. It is helpful for eliminating potential dangers which appear, in opinions of the drivers questioned, during walking, riding a bicycle, or using public transport. Moreover, the sociological analysis show that according to the majority of interviewees, the safest sphere in their lives consists of the home space mentioned above. Therefore, if the private car is seen as an integral part of the private inhabitant's world, its possibilities and character locate this type of transport at the top of the highly valorized items.

Second context: the private car, individualization and personal identity

Using a car often brings a feeling of various positive emotions which can be understood, firstly, as a result of psychophysical experiences generated during driving the vehicle or travelling as a passenger. Polish drivers love listening to music and the sound of engine; they also feel the pleasure of fast riding, changing gears and so on. The sum of these experiences is unique and unattainable in comparison to the possibilities offered by other types of transport. This pleasure is an effect of autonomous nature of the car, so its considerable importance leads to well grounded role of the automobility in the life of Poles.

The emotions are generated also during the process of externalization of drivers' identity while they try to reshape private cars. As Ole B. Jensen noted, "the car affords different car cultures leading to a new sense of the 'auto-self' performing in a 'fluid-choreography (of postmodern reality)" (Jensen 2013; Featherstone 2004). The car owners often modify appearance of their autos, adding various items to their vehicles or putting special signs and symbols, which inform of the subculture the drivers belong to, on the cars' body. They also change performance of the cars, increase the maximal speed, change gear box, reshape wheels and so on. All these practices lead to a stronger relationship between drivers and their privatized and individualized cars. The vehicle thus is not an anonymous machine which looks like other cars. It is rather the unique and – often – personalized thing which becomes an integral part of private and family life. Sometimes the auto is everything that people want and love. In this context, the basic role of the car is shifted from the mobility aspect to the creation and expression of personal identity. Using and rebuilding the private vehicle seem to be a perfect way of saying who the owner is and who he (or she) wants to be. The current automobility offers a great deal of the means of expression which enable to show personal identity, starting from the size of car, through its performance, equipment (electric glasses, features etc.) or class, and ending with the brand of the auto. People use smaller and bigger, faster and slower, cheaper and more expensive cars, which have air conditioning or not, but mostly their choices are conditioned by their life style and personality.

The private car also enables to overcome various social barriers and build self-value in the eyes of others. The process of becoming a driver is under social control, because society creates rules which regulate who and at what age is able to use a car. The society also generates standards by which skills of the drivers are evaluated. Therefore people try to meet these requirements in the process of improving various skills, such as fast and efficient driving without mistakes, traveling in big cities with complicated hubs, repairing cars and so on. Driving a car also confirms maturity of a man, because everyone gradually changes seats in a vehicle: at the beginning we sit in the backseat, later we use a seat next to the driver and finally we start to drive a car without support of others. What is more, the private car allows to fight with gender stereotypes. For example, a woman who repairs a car overcomes the traditional, patriarchal point of view in which this type of activity is reserved only for men.

The drivers often describe the emotions referring to the feeling of independency and freedom. Despite of the fact that the car owners have to obey the traffic rules and cope with traffic jams and dangerous situations on the roads, they treat the private vehicle as the best way of flexible, independent travelling (Gilroy 2000). In their opinion, the automobility is the only means of transportation which enables them to connect spatially scattered activities in a short period of time. In the John Urry's opinion, "Automobility is a source of freedom, the 'freedom of the road'. Its flexibility enables the car-driver to travel at any time in any direction along the complex road systems of western societies that link together most houses, workplaces and leisure sites (and are publicly paid for). Cars extend where people can go to and hence what they are literally able to do. Much 'social life' could not be undertaken without the flexibilities of the car and its 24-hour availability. It is possible to leave late by car, to miss connections, to travel in a relatively time-less fashion" (Urry 2004).

Although using a car generates some difficulties, at the same time it corresponds with a character of current social life which promotes active and differentiated lifestyle, including sport activities or lifelong learning. These activities are rarely limited to one place or neighborhood, which results in increasing spatial mobility of individuals. In this context, the role of the car seems to be well grounded, because the order of daily routines is strictly connected with using the private vehicle. Indeed, postmodern reality is often characterized by increasing compression of time and space, which is the result of development of modern means of transport. At the first stage, the automobility enables doing more things in the shorter time and in scattered places. Modern societies adapt their cultures and rules to these opportunities and, finally, strengthen the role of private cars. The reduction of the number of private vehicles thus may prove to be impossible without reshaping social practices. Nevertheless, nowadays the shape of social order and the role of automobility is strengthening each other and this trend seems to be stable, which has been confirmed by the discourse of the drivers who were involved in the described research project.

Taking into account the factors mentioned above, using a car provides impulses which may be helpful for fighting with individual barriers and rebuilding personal identity. The role of possibilities offered by the automobility seems to be completely different to the influence caused by other means of transport. Flexibility as well as privatized character are the features reserved only for the car and, as a result, lead to the positive valorization of this type of transportation. It should be emphasized that these factors constitute the unique nature of the automobility and limit the possibilities to compare the car with the alternative ways of transport.

Third context: the private car, social pressure and social exclusion

The car also changes the nature of daily work. The automobility makes people more flexible, because fast and effective commuting between scattered places is often necessary to:

- build good relationships with customers (because of the need to make the active marketing),
- participate in trainings and courses,
- connect various activities carried out on part-time basis.

As John Urry noted, "Automobility is thus a system that coerces people into an intense flexibility. It forces people to juggle fragments of time so as to deal with the temporal and spatial constraints that it itself generates. Automobility is a Frankenstein-created monster, extending the individual into realms of freedom and flexibility whereby inhabiting the car can be positively viewed and energetically campaigned and fought for, but also constraining car 'users' to live their lives in spatially stretched and time-compressed ways" (Urry 2007, 2008). These processes lead to rooting the car in practices which constitute current work. The private vehicle seems to be the type of transportation which perfectly corresponds with the character of these practices, so it should not be surprising that being a driver is more and more often required by employers. In this context, driving license is thus something indispensable – people who do not use a car, are threatened by social exclusion. It can be assumed that their position in social hierarchy would be worse and less attractive than the position of the car owners, so using a car appears to be necessary to preserve social position, especially in the context of the changes on the labour market.

Nevertheless, some aspects of the pressure generated by the automobility can be identified also in family life. The main reason of this fact is linked to the public transport condition, especially outside the cities. In the Polish context, bus and train connections in the rural areas have declined during the last two decades because of the financial difficulties encountered by local governments. The public transport connections are usually maintained only for carrying children and elderly people who are not able to use the private car. As a consequence, the timetables are usually inadequate for the diversified needs of most rural residents and people have to use a car even if the local governments try to organize transport links aimed at preventing social exclusion.

The families cope with these struggles by trying to appoint a person which would act as a family driver. Although individuals sometimes do not want to have a driving license, they are pressurized into passing the test and using a car because of family needs. In this way, driving a car is irrespective of the appointed drivers' real preferences. They rather fulfill environmental requirements, which means that using a private vehicle may not result from voluntary decision. It rather comes from the social pressure. As a result, the car becomes an inherent part of their private life because of the suggestions generated by others.

This kind of social patterns is hard to be reshaped or refused, because almost all people learn how to use a car since the early childhood, when they observe socio-spatial practices of their parents. Using a car thus became a part of the primary socialization during which the most important and strongest habits and behaviours were created. As a consequence, in Poland this activity is often seen as natural and justified without any doubt. The Poles thus do not have to explain why they want to use a car, because it is a social pattern carried out by the majority of the population. They are rather obligated to justify the act of resignation from this activity.

Conclusions

The role of the car in Poles' life is complex and well grounded. As we tried to show, the private vehicle is something more than a tool for spatial mobility. People, of course, choose a car because of its accessibility. Taking into account the condition of public transport system, private car indeed may seem as the best way of travelling. From the individual perspective, the other options do not offer such direct and fast connections between scattered places of human activity, even if using a car means being stuck in traffic jams.

Nevertheless, the car also influences the shape of social relations, personal identity, chances and barriers met by individuals and image of the person in the eyes of others. It also brings new forms of social stratification, perception and work. Furthermore, the automobility creates new and more flexible character of postmodern personal activity. Therefore, the car is not only a neutral iron cage which provides fast and effective travelling between various places. It is rather a socio-cultural construct connected with many aspects of social life. We have to remember about these links if we want to reduce a number of cars and replace them by other forms of transport. It can be assumed that it is not as easy as quantitative studies sometimes show.

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JĘDRZEJ BURSZTA

Challenging the Hegemony of Car Culture. The Road and Roadside as Cultural Landscape in the United States

> The point is to drive. All this creates a new experience of space, and, at the same time, a new experience of the whole social system. All you need to know about American society can be gleaned from an anthropology of its driving behavior. Drive ten thousand miles across America and you will know more about the country than all the institutes of sociology and political science put together.
>
> Jean Baudrillard*, America*, 1989

This paper will examine the American road as a cultural landscape connected with a variety of intertwined concepts such as automobility, notions of proximity and distance, or the center and the margin, as well as the masculinization and feminization of space. Following Raymond Williams' (1973) notion of the ideological role of images of county and city in national psyche, the paper will focus on the relation between highway and roadside imaginary and certain traits that are considered part of the American national character, most notably the ideologies of individualism and subjectivity, as well as the shape and role of automobility under the capitalist regime. I will argue that the experience of automobility – the practice of driving – has had a profound impact on the ways in which Americans perceive citizenship as an exclusive category, challenged by historical and sociocultural conditions. Finally, the paper will offer a concise analysis of the emergence of the American roadside as a side-effect of government road construction, and reflect upon the intertwined relations of space and identity, as well as hierarchy and hegemony, connected with the regimes of mobility produced and experience through roads and the roadside.

The emergence of car culture

It is necessary to begin with a brief description of the birth of automobility in America, understood as a complex fusion, or "hybrid assemblage," of ideology, condition and expression, interlocking of machines (technology) and people, as well as freedoms and limitations (e.g. Urry 2004; Kellerman 2012). Although most historians claim that "the automobile is European by birth, American by adoption" (Rae 1965), it was in the United States where the mass production of cars was primarily developed, reaching its most expansive industrial shape. Earlier automobile prototypes that were based on steam-powered engines (as well as other experimental models) soon proved to be unproductive, too costly in production and highly unreliable. It was the invention of the stationary gasoline engine by the German manufacturer Karl Benz that became a turning point in the history of the automobile industry. Although cars were a popular sight in Paris already in 1895, that year marked the first time that automobiles were introduced to the American market, beginning modestly with three New York City department stores offering European-produced motorcars for sale. In the first decades of automobility in America, from 1895 to the 1920s, the foundations of what was to become "car culture" emerged, bringing together the political, economic, institutional and cultural dimensions of the automobile, and reaching its "high-modernist" moment in the 1950s (Seiler 2008).

In his article *Three Stages of American Automobile Consciousness* James J. Flink (1972) argues that "contrary to popular myth, from its introduction the motorcar was greeted with enthusiasm by Americans. Press coverage was overwhelmingly favorable; laws regulating the motorcar were overtly lenient; (…) predictions began to come (…) that within the foreseeable future a utopian horseless age would down" (453–454). Certain changes were needed for this to happen. Firstly, in the period between 1985 and 1915 automobiles remained a luxury item, highly priced and very expensive in maintenance. The quick, almost instant social acceptance of the car – fueled mostly by enthusiastic media coverage combined with successful advertising strategies – was met with a lukewarm response in terms of purchase. Motorcars were in fashion, so to say, but they were available only for citizens of the upper-class; this situation did not last long. Contrary to Europe where this imbalance remained constant for a considerable amount of time, the United States made a huge leap in motorcar manufacturing, as well as in the rapidly growing consumer numbers. It was an unprecedented case considering the finished product's expensiveness. By 1910 automobile production became more important to the national economy than the wagon and carriages industry (Flink 1975).

Car ownership continued to grow throughout the next two decades, up until the Great Depression. The economic turmoil of the 1930s led many people to adopt a more critical approach to the automobile industry, not only echoing public debates from the recent past – the question of the motorcars' impact on the environment – but sparkling new controversies. A.R. Raucher (1983) evokes some of those discussions, e.g. about the oligopolistic nature of the industry which resulted with a lack of competition (simultaneously making car designs and prices identical for all manufacturers). He writes: "Evaluating car designs, prices, and operating costs, consumer advocates asked why America did not have safer, cheaper, and more fuel efficient cars" (210). On the one hand, automobiles were considered to be a quite expressive symbol of social status, and yet, on the other hand, the harsh realities of the Depression years brought some critics to the observation that there was much falseness underneath the splendor of the motorcar. The image of wealth and power – and even the sole notion of individualistic control over speed – was deemed illusionary, a cruel play on Americans' desire that ultimately did not live up to its promises. Part of this debate stemmed from the questionable safety of cars and the problem of growing urban traffic, which led automakers to endorse a far-reaching traffic safety program summed up by the "Three E's" slogan: education, enforcement, and engineering (Raucher 1983: 211).

The history of the automobile in the United States is linked with the rise of the giant corporations of the automobile industry, most importantly the Ford Motor Company and General Motors. Fordism became the operative macro-scale model of development that organized industrial production of motorcars – introducing the assembly line in place of hand crafting and providing a successful production system that enabled mass distribution of the most popular Ford Model T (colloquially titled Tin

Lizzie). Regarded as the first affordable car, T-Model was produced from 1908 up to 1927 and introduced middle-class Americans to the world of individual mobility. Higill (1982) perceives the Ford Motor Company owner's success as a combination of up-to-date technology that seemed to garner universal understanding: "Ford's concept of a car for rural America and the middle class triumphed in three areas: roadworthiness, ease of driving, and ease of servicing. At only 1,200 pounds the car was light; with twenty horsepower it was powerful for its weight" (337). Together with irreversibly changing capitalist production standards, the paradigm of Fordism mixed with another groundbreaking theory – Taylorism, the control of the labor process – defined "a particular combination of mass production, mass consumption and state regulation to ensure that production and consumption remain broadly in balance" (Hudson 1994: 332).

Commenting on the changes resulting from the automobility revolution, Higill concludes with a broad generalization: No part of American life was untouched by the transformation wrought by the automobile. Churches, schools, hospitals and stores became centralized as automobiles increased the distances people could travel. Many local services disappeared, and even the most rural folk had improved access to urban services. By ending rural isolation, the automobile also brought to a close period of regionalism in American culture. Weekly trips to the movie theatres exposed Americans to a homogenized view of American life. (…) No longer was the adjoining country or even state so mysterious or inaccessible, nor perhaps was the move of sons and daughters to the city in search of better economic opportunities so seemingly final or distant (Higill 1982: 349).

Americans' growing admiration for the motorcar mirrored the value system shared by most. Instead of using public transport, turning to private vehicles worked alongside the ideological notion of individualism, or the Emersonian ideal of self-reliance. The car mediates the state of independence, and promises that being in motion is dependent on one's own individual choices – it is a machine that, according to Daniel Miller (2001), exceeds simple technical understanding, and presents itself with a specific humanity: "The car today is associated with the aggregate of vast systems of transport and roadways that make the car's environment our environment, and yet at the same time there are the highly personal and intimate relationships which individuals have found through their possession and use of cars" (2). Mobility was also perceived as an indisputable founding element of American character, as reflected by historian Frederick Jackson Turner in his influential 1893 essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," and later reproduced in automobility narratives in which the early drivers were presented as pioneer-like figures traversing the vast, empty continent "in the pursuit of happiness." To some extent the nascent automobility once again opened the frontier. The right to travel, the freedom to move – on good roads, in good cars – was envisioned as a primary right of American citizens, and was promptly intercepted by capitalist entrepreneurs.

Furthermore, automobile ownership also secured a person's freedom of mobility, understood both in geographical, as well as social terms. It gave in to the "American dream," securing the rights of mobility finally rid of external control or surveillance – but at the same time came to be recognized as an inseparable part of conspicuous consumption, as it was defined by Thorstein Veblen. In the United States spending money on luxury goods for the sake of displaying economic power became a middle-class lifestyle in the period after the Second World War. Attaining and, more importantly, maintaining a desirable social status was connected with owning a car. Karl Ann Marling (1989) examines the 1950s from this perspective, comparing data on consumption rates, e.g. how many new houses were built in 1945 and 1950, and also – how many cars were purchased:

In 1945, 70,000 cars rolled off the assembly line; 6,665,000 in 1950. The good life rolled by on big, soft Goodyear tires: it was the car that fueled the new industrial prosperity, created the suburbs where new houses sprouted like dandelions after rain, and shaped the suburban lifestyle whose mores and manners were codified on TV sitcoms of the 1950s. The car was the new Conestoga wagon on the frontier of consumerism, a powerful instrument of change, a chariot of fiery desire. (Marling 1989: 6)

At the same time the scope of automobile individualism, or, in other words, the politics of mobility, was limited for a substantial period of time only to white middle-class men. As Cotton Seiler (2008) notes: "The powerful conjecture of self-determination, speed, and mastery informed the common and durable trope of driver-as-monarch – a symbolic identity that merged masculine potency and charisma" (45). Almost since the beginning driving was culturally gendered as a masculine activity performed by the "Autocrats of the Road," a common notion further emphasized during the Cold War years, when it became part of the wider gendered politics of American identity, juxtaposed with the effeminate Soviet "new man." In her 1991 study *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* historian Virgina Scharff examined the equation of automobility with masculinity. One of the results of this ideological process was the growing popularity of the sexist image of the driving woman, stemming from a cultural distrust for mobile women in general. At the same time the automobile industry was quick to readdress their advertising policies to include the rapidly expanding public of female consumers for whom driving became symbolically linked with the struggle to free oneself from the household, creating a theme of emancipation running alongside other negative representations of female drivers (including a transgressive component in terms of the sexual character of driving).

The new Interstate Highway System was not a democratic social space. Instead "the space of the American road, like the contours of citizenship, was established under specific regimes of racialized inequality and limited access whose codes it reproduces," which ultimately positioned non-white drivers outside the new automobile culture (Seiler 2008:107). From a wider perspective it is quite clear that in structural terms mobility requires immobility: certain people possess the agency to travel only because others are immobilized. American historians have analyzed texts written by (or, in some cases, for) Africa American motorists embarking on automobile journeys across the country during the Jim Crow era of segregation, including travel guides written specifically with the black traveler in mind, like *The Negro Motorist Green Book*. Driving through unfamiliar territory induced a powerful experience of racism, as the suddenly visible in public space bodies of black drivers were observed and assessed by white Americans all across the continent. The narratives of black drivers express the anxieties experienced on the unfamiliar highways, although at the same time the rate of car ownership among African Americans was rising steadily since 1950s years. The democratic promise of the "open road" was paradoxically a site of discrimination, as spatial mobility of non-white drivers remained regulated and limited, resulting with the exclusiveness of the new car culture – and, by extension, the freedom of movement.

In the end both women and people of color "by driving […] affirmed their fitness for citizenship and legal equality with men," (Seiler 2008:58) as automobile ownership came more and more to signify national membership (symbolically represented e.g. by the driving license's significance as a federal document). Automobility thus presented a challenge. It had the potential of becoming liberating or empowering medium for resistance. Tim Cresswell (2004) presents an interesting case of suffrage auto tours undertaken in the early 1920s by a group of New England women protesting against a proposition to introduce ordinance prohibiting women from driving. In response the suffragettes organized a journey across the continent, using their personal mobility not as a symbol, but as a political strategy aimed at achieving particular results, mediated through the linking of women's suffrage with technology and the freedom of movements (see: Cresswell 2004: 214–218). In a similar fashion the civil rights movement of the early 1960s, specifically the Freedom Riders challenging segregation in buses, was essentially correlated with the problem of personal mobility, and the segregated politics that clearly separated the African American population from enjoying the individual freedom of travel. The dynamic changes brought together by e.g. the merging of race and gender politics with the growing commercialization (and commodification) of personal mobilities is a particularly striking characteristic of American car culture, another testimony to its complex and multifaceted nature.

The creation of the roadside

The invention and mass consumption of cars transformed space in ways hardly comparable with earlier forms of mobility. To some extent, the train brought on many spatial changes that foreshadowed later developments; primarily, the construction of the railroad system stretching from east to west of the country united it for the very first time, and paradoxically evoked a feeling of closeness. Huge tracks of land suddenly became less distant, because they could be traveled – relatively fast and potentially by everyone. Furthermore, railroad tracks aggressively "invaded" the landscape, dividing, modifying and rearranging it so to fit the requirements of transport technologies. Swamps and marshes were dried, tunnels through mountains were dug, bridges and railway embankments were build, as well as numerous stations and platforms – all in all space was conquered by the train.

The dawning of the automobile age reinforced these changes to an even greater degree. Simply put, automobiles needed roads, and not just any roads: they required "good roads." The new designed models called for smooth-surfaced, macadam road networks to work properly, that is – to provide the promised speed and safety. Road building was of course highly expensive both in labor force and capital investment, and for some time it was unclear whether the innovations were supposed to be financed by states themselves or the federal government. Finally, since the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916 was introduces, largely because of the influence of a powerful lobby group known as the Good Roads Movement (consisting of automobile manufacturers, petroleum refiners, state highway departments etc.), the bulk of the financial burden was put on the latter, although costs were shared with counties and towns (Higill 1982: 331–332). Newly created highways were necessary since most of the old roads (now deemed as "bad roads") were only suitable for horse and wagon travel; automobiles soon proved to be a far worse destructive force, and costs of road repair and preservation had to be included in investors' plans. The first concrete road in the U.S. was poured in 1891 in Bellefontaine, Ohio, although extensive construction nationwide did not begin until the 1920s (Raiz 1999: 373).

An interesting case which demonstrates the process of urban transformation is the qualitative change of public transport in American cities. Before the motorcar revolution, public transport was dependent on networks of streetcars, and city streets were constructed with regard to rail tracks that were always placed in the middle. Car traffic, relatively low in the early years of automobility, was directed to the side lanes. The 1996 documentary "Taken for a Ride"[1] presents how the automobile industry influenced the demise of streetcars, which were successively replaced with motorcar buses; public transport was turned into the hands of private manufacturers interested in mass production of vehicles. The domination of cars resulted in a new phenomenon: traffic jams.

The introduction of a vast and uniform network of highways at the same time inspired the creation of the American roadside, a space in transition between the city and the countryside. The quickly rising numbers of middle-class drivers demanded accommodation and other services that no longer could be limited only to urban spaces. Unlike road construction, the early roadside development across the whole coun-

[1] Klein, Jim. (Director). "Taken for a Ride" [TV documentary]. Independent Television Service (ITVS), 1996.

try was not coordinated nor standardized – it was a chance for nascent businesspeople to build their local small businesses, become roadside entrepreneurs. Beginning with the 1920s, roads and the roadside space "move in tandem across the countryside," geographer Karl Raitz writes, the latter ultimately becoming "a product of many capitalistic impulses, as idiosyncratic in their forms as the individuals who conceived, built, and operated them" (381).

The roadside is an answer to mobility requirements posed by car drivers, a space that in a way functions as a supplement to the automobility complex, reinforcing it through the commercial offer. It also established new spatial relations crucial to the roadside phenomenon, as "we must recognize that the geographical, social, and political processes that underwrite the making and use of both roads and roadside (…) provide context for the other, so neither can be defined, described, or understood in isolation" (Raiz 1999: 367). Roadside attractions included a variety of facilities, some of them more organized – like gas stations, restaurants, motels, or parking lots – and other more spontaneous and informal, like "small business" stands (e.g. selling fruits and vegetables), private markets, an information network of signs directing to local tourist attractions, or prostitutes. The roadside became an improvised stage for commercial and mercantile initiatives, a meeting-point of the opposing urban and countryside logics of capitalism. If highways were gigantic and nationwide public spaces, the roadsides, with all of its surrounding institutions, remained semi-private satellites that helped to reinforce the domination of car culture.

Some anthropologists have approach the subject of space relations in the roadside with interesting results. Sarah S. Lochlann Jain (2004) turns her attention toward the bystander, a non-motorized user of public space, and in her interesting essay *Dangerous Instrumentality: The Bystander as Subject in Automobility* explores the theoretical and practical implications of adopting this point of view. Some of the themes that Jain explores are e.g. the relations between cars and pedestrians (in terms of injuries and accidents), or the legal frameworks commenced during the last hundred years of automobility, how the law is being enforced without much reflection on its diverse effects on different groups of interest. The bystanders – cyclists, city strollers or *flâneurs* – can be framed either as an urban minority or majority, depending on the adopted perspective, nevertheless their social position tends to be inferior to car-drivers. The so-called “bystander” identity is not fixed, on the contrary, it is characterized by fluidity that should be considered vital when examining everyday social relations in urban surroundings. Jain writes: The “bystander” – as pedestrian, cyclist, potential enjoyer of public places – cuts a curious figure, one that is defined in relation to automobility and, more specifically, through a vulnerability to injury by automobiles. […] Bystanders are integral and random parts of the public environment: they have their own desires for spaces that may be at odds with the desire simply to traverse them. Furthermore, they are necessary complements to the urban environment – drivers are also bystanders, if only in the walk between the car and the Wal-Mart (Jain 2004: 61).

This raises important questions echoed in urban studies, most importantly: how is public space envisioned and who are the main beneficiaries of urban planning? Adopting the perspective of a bystander may be a resourceful point of study for anthropological reflection on mobility and space. Turning attention to the social actors who occupy a marginal position in the hegemonic structures of car cultures is useful for deconstructing the principles that organize the whole sphere of automobility, especially in relation to the ways in which space is experienced. From this point of view the history of American road construction can be seen as an interesting example of cultural conflict, a dynamic clash between different groups of interest organized in a strict hierarchy, on top of which are the drivers, the primary and privileged users of roads. Many of the mentioned bystander groups are also active users of these spaces, not only passive observers of traffic, although often they establish new patterns of behavior – they make sense of roads in their own way. A good example of such processes are hitchhikers, the mobile “others,” who enter the highway and road networks partly as bystanders, partly as travel companions for drivers. Such bystanders not only interact with other mobile actors, but they take part in challenging the relationships of power that characterize modern roads and roadsides. In many ways the move *across* the established routes, work *against* the dominant regimes of automobility.

As it was noted earlier, because of public needs and car manufacturers’ influences, planning and building of American roads was finally placed in the hands of the federal government. This meant that the creation of public space was sanctioned by official institutions, who were responsible for constructing a space designed primarily for car users, and rarely accustomed to other actors, the bystanders. At the same time formal places like the gas station or motel form their own characteristic space, best described by Marc Augé (1995) as non-places (*non-lieux*), places of transience, waiting-zones that do not hold enough meaning to be recognized as a proper "place" in anthropological understanding of the term, that is, having its own significance and substance. In its entirety the roadside can be considered as a non-place: a space that exists on the margin (literally, *on the side of the road*), one that functions largely in correlation with the automobility structures, or opposes its hegemony, providing a space which enables others to challenge the official doctrine, and carve out a small space of their own. On the other hand, the mundane "roadscapes" witnessed during every car journey are also spaces of identity (see: Edensor 2005), in the sense that they may evoke a feeling of familiarity and belonging, e.g. through roadside architecture recognized as possessing either a regional or national character. However, the presence of corporate logos marks roads and roadsides as part of the global unified network, negating any local variations. They are therefore fluid spaces, at each time negotiated by its users and endowed with different meaning. Their identity-shaping capability is not stable nor fixed. They have the potential for becoming contested spaces – an arena for conflicts and tensions that can be realized at the grassroots level of human interaction, whether it will be the case of blocking highway construction, opposing the excessive privatization of public space, or, last but not least, contesting the car-oriented construction of both urban and rural landscapes.

Conclusion

The complicated relationship of mobility and space is one of the most thought-provoking themes of automobility studies. The history of the emergence of car culture in the United States sheds light on many aspects of culture that transgress the American context – naturally, while taking into account the cultural, social, political differences – and may be equally useful in studies of European roads and roadsides, the politics of space, mobility regimes etc. Indeed there are many car cultures, and each is distinct, specific to its cultural context; it is important not to overestimate the tendency to essentialize categories or discourses which are heavily invested in prevailing cultural differences. The American automobility narrative, and the American road as cultural landscape, are essentially embedded in the specific patterns of American culture and society – similarly as the motorcar narratives from Britain, France, India, or other parts of the world related to their respectable cultures (see: Featherstone, Thrift and Urry 2004).

As it was noted, in the United States the use of cars and roads was, and still is, associated with ideological processes of identity-forming: the everyday, mundane practice of driving can be seen as an important element in the wider process of constructing and consolidating national identity on the basis of both inclusion and exclusion. Driving is undoubtedly a cultural practice, and as such it is open to interpretation grounded in anthropology and cultural studies, as are the other elements of the automobility complex, namely spatial relations and the multiple subjectivities of road users (especially those located outside the center). As in all mobility studies, it is essential to consider the hegemonic nature of car culture(s), understood as a dominant ideology which is imposed on all members of a given society, and to reassess the power dynamics embedded in the car as a manufactured cultural commodity and symbol, the road and roadside ("roadscape") as a public space open for negotiation or opposition, and finally, the everyday experiences of both mobile and immobile people living in modern car cultures.

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RAFAŁ SZYMANOWSKI

THE MOBILITY TURN IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCE

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to present the latest upsurge in the interest in different forms of mobility in the contemporary world. The newfound popularity of interdisciplinary research on mobility is sometimes identified as the mobility turn in the social science. Many scholars argue that a new paradigm has emerged at the intersection of social science and transport studies. It focuses on the gradual increase at the turn of the century in the movement of people, goods, services, capital as well as ideas and mental imaginaries; and its far-reaching social consequences. The main proponents of this turn are associated with a group of British researchers publishing in the journal *Mobilities*. This journal, which provides a platform of communication between the researchers in this field, explores the issues like: mobile spatiality and temporality, immobilities and social exclusions, tourism and travel mobilities, transportation and communication technologies, migration and diasporas.

In the article it is argued that the theoretical background of the mobility turn consists mainly of the different variants of theories of globalization. The vast globalization literature provided a crucial analytical underpinnings of the contemporary research on the different forms of mobility. The article examines some of the most influential, both in the international and Polish social science, definitions of globalization, paying special attention to the ways in which mobility was analyzed. This examination proves that mobility was thought to have been one of the key social determinants of globalization processes after the fall of the

Berlin Wall and dissolution of the Soviet Union. Then, the main sources of the mobility turn and the crucial arguments in favor of introducing "mobilities" as a separate field of research are presented. In addition to that, article indicates the most important critical remarks concerning the mobility turn. Attempts to constitute a separate field of research on the mobility are discussed in the broader context of recent developments in the field of social science. Finally, conclusions are presented.

It should be noted that the examination of different theories of globalization, especially the dimension of the supposed unprecedented spatio-temporal compression in the contemporary world, was inspired by Justin Rosenberg's article *Globalization Theory: A Post Mortem* (2005: 2–74). The description of the recent developments in the field of social science refers to the Immanuel Wallerstein's claim about the "microscopization of social science".

Mobility in Theories of Globalization

The concept of globalization became one of the most powerful ideas at the turn of the century. International Relations scholar Justin Rosenberg argued that globalization was "the Zeitgeist" of the 1990s (Rosenberg 2005). In that period this word seemed to many people to have captured the essence of what was going on in the world after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War. It is argued that the dissolution of the Soviet Union created a form of a vacuum in the international order. A bipolar structure, as a form of a balance of power in the international relations, in the opinion of many realists in the IR (International Relations) was thought to have been the best form of organizing the world order (Waltz 2010). What's more, a bipolar structure, as given in the Cold War, was also probably the most influential idea of the second half of the twentieth century, as far as the world order and state of international relations were concerned. It is no surprise though that the end of the Cold War put into question the so far ruling intellectual concept. The dissolution of the Soviet Union created a specific lacuna in the sphere of mental imaginaries of the reality and brought about the need for a new conceptualization of the emerging situation. This lacuna is often identified as a source of an astounding popularity of the notions like Francis Fukuyama's the End of History or the belief in the global convergence of capitalism, which shaped the intellectual atmosphere of the 1990s. To the greatest extend, however, this vacuum was filled by the varying theories of globalization. The focus on mobility, as we shall see, was an important part of some of the most influential theories in the field.

Sociologist Anthony Giddens, in one of the most cited definitions of the phenomenon, described globalization as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens 1990). Similar observation was made by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman when he stated that "initiatives are as before local, but their consequences are now global, staying stubbornly beyond the predicting/planning/steering powers of the initiative's birthplace, or any other place for that matter" (Bauman 2012: 245). In the definition presented by economist Grzegorz W. Kołodko globalization is a "historical process of liberalization and integration of previously solitary functioning markets of goods, capital, information and labor into a single, interdependent global market" (Kołodko 2003: 433). According to Kołodko globalization is defined by a specific triad: liberalization – integration – interdependence, as a result of which the planetary economy emerges. Economist Nouriel Roubini characterized globalization by indicating the internationalization of trade in goods and services, labor migration and universality of information (Roubini, Mihm 2011). Roubini claims that globalization goes hand in hand with technological innovation. Therefore, "today's much faster flow of financial capital in the world should be owed to the universality of information technology" (Roubini Mihm, 2011: 333). The interdependent global economy composed of capitalist states in an arena of contemporary globalization. As noted by Jürgen Habermas, the state is capitalist as long as its primary function is to provide regular meetings between capital and labor (Habermas 1975). The capital must be able to purchase labor and the labor must be transferable, that is attractive to the capital. Globalization widens the scope of these meeting and internationalizes them.

What all these above mentioned definitions have in common, is the focus on movement, overcoming distance, fading barriers, subordination of various localities to one global dimension; mobility in brief. The fact of stressing mobility in the different theories of globalization can be identified not only by looking at the diverse definitions formulated by distinguished scholars but also by capturing only the very terms which denoted these various concepts. Manuel Castells's *The Space of Flows*, Zygmunt Bauman's *Liquid Modernity* or Ulrich Beck's *Risk Society* (Thomas L. Friedman's *Flat World* might be another example, if we were to include also non-scholarly writings), although very different in meaning which they tried to convey, were based on an acceptance of the notion that globalization processes have significantly changed the social reality and basic conditions of human existence. What was intrinsic to all these concepts was the claim about growing scope and increasing dynamism of material and social mobility. According to Castells, constant flows are one of the key determinants of the new social order. Globalization became to a large extent almost synonymous with all-embracing mobility of goods, services, capital, people, ideas and time-space compression in general.

Sources of the Mobility Turn

The astounding popularity of the idea of globalization in the 1990s gave birth to the new research fields like global public policy, patterns of global governance, the nexus between globalization and glocalization, new world economic order or global covenant of cosmopolitan social democracy. It initiated also the upsurge in the interest in different forms of mobility in the contemporary world. The increase in the research on diverse forms of mobility of people, goods, services, capital and ideas is often called "mobilities" paradigm or the mobility turn. The main assumption behind the mobility turn is that there is a great need for the insertion of the "social" into analyzing travel and transport (Urry, Grieco 2011). Representatives of this approach claim that mobility research as an intellectual and scientific project focuses on the universal but always particularly constructed fact of moving (Cresswell 2010: 550). The project is stimulated by the mode of thinking which takes mobility as the central fact of modern or postmodern life. This observation is a direct result of a rapid increase in various forms of mobility in the contemporary world. John Urry and Margaret Grieco identified five interdependent "mobilities" that are producing modern social life organized across multiple distances:

1) the corporeal travel of people for work, leisure, family life, pleasure, migration and escape, organized in terms of contrasting time-space patterns ranging from daily commuting to once-in-a-lifetime exile;

2) the physical movement of objects which include food and water to producers, consumers and retailers; as well as sending and receiving of presents and souvenirs;
3) the imaginative travel effected through the images of places and peoples appearing on and moving across multiple print and visual media and which then construct and reconstruct visions of place, travel and consumption;
4) virtual travel often in real time transcending geographical and social distance and forming and reforming multiple communities at-a-distance;
5) communicative travel through person-to-person messages via personal messages, postcards, texts, letters, telegraph, telephone, fax and mobile (Urry, Grieco 2011: 4–5).

They claim that current growth in mobility stems from following interdependent processes:
1) the growth of automobility throughout the world increasingly in the world's two most populous societies of China and India;
2) the rapid growth of cheap air travel based on new budget business models;
3) a significant resurgence of rail transport especially of high speed trains across Europe and Japan;
4) new kinds of globally significant themed leisure environments that have to be visited from afar;
5) increased 'miles' both flown and travelling on the world's 90,000 ships by manufactured goods, components and foodstuffs;
6) much greater distances travelled by work colleagues, members of leisure organizations, families and friends in order to sustain patterns of everyday life that are 'at-a-distance';
7) carbon use within transport, which accounts for 24 per cent of total greenhouse emissions – second fastest growing source of such emissions and expected to double by 2050 (Urry, Grieco, 2011: 5).

Urry and Grieco noted that ubiquitous, at the turn of the century, urge to be mobile, corresponds to the neo-liberal ideology prevailing in the contemporary world. It is also deeply rooted in the energy system based on coal, as the twentieth century was the century of oil (Urry, Grieco 2011: 16). According to them, changing the main sources of energy in the twenty-first century and the forthcoming of "post-carbon era" can also change the forms of mobility. The economic collapse of formerly prosperous city of Detroit may signal the upcoming changes. In the opinion of the enthusiasts of the mobility turn, the potential changes in the forms of mobility and energy sources in the years to come are just another reason why mobilites as a research field will carry more weight than ever before.

Critical Approaches to the Mobility Turn

Like many turns in the recent past, such as the linguistic turn or the cultural turn, also the mobility turn was subjected to a strong criticism. Serious doubts concerned the very basis claim about the need for the insertion of the "social" into analyzing travel and transport. It was argued that precisely this insertion has been already made at the intersection of social science and transport studies. Even some proponents of the mobility turn questioned the ostensible newness of the very idea and admitted that "people and things have always moved and mobility did not start in the twenty-first century or even with the industrial revolution" (Cresswell 2010: 555). It might be worth mentioning that the birth of American welfare state and the Great Compression, which started since early 1940s in the US, are commonly illustrated in the literature, among others, by the emergence of a car as a most popular mode of transport (Krugman 2009). Historian Tony Judt observed that "the car, at the height of its hegemony, stood for individualism, liberty, privacy, separation, and selfishness in their most socially dysfunctional, although insidiously seductive, form (Judt 2011b: 48). Cresswell noted that perhaps less than half of the work on the issue of mobility would be self-consciously "mobilities" research. In his opinion many people involved in research on mobility topics do not see themselves as a part of a new paradigm or turn.

It was argued that mobility as a social phenomenon has always been an important element of the social world and, as such, has been studied by the social science. As noted by Justin Rosenberg, space and time themselves are the foundational parameters of social explanation. "There is no question that the relational form of any given society is inseparable from particular orderings (practical and imaginative) of space and time" (Rosenberg 2005: 13). Mobility, different ways and instruments of being mobile, has been the subject of research in the social science in the most classical texts. The first chapter of *The Communist Manifesto* is a perfect example of a description of anything other than the movement and transformation of the existing social feudal structures. The famous phrase "All that is solid melts into air; all that is holy is profaned" describes, above all, the transformation resulting from the movement of previously static and natural social forms. That's why many scholars have identified in the first chapter of *The Communist Manifesto* kind of proto-theory of globalization (Rosenberg 2005). Likewise, the opening paragraphs of John Maynard Keynes's *Economic Consequences of the Peace* provide an insight into the "hubristic illusions of a world on the edge of catastrophe" (Judt 2008: 20); illusions resulting from the belief that a rapid increase in mobility at the dawn of the twentieth century was substantially changing the very nature of international order and the conditions of human existence. The recurring illusion, that a rapid increase in mobility is radically transforming the social life and world order, seems to be something perennial in the modern history of mankind rather than something very new.

Therefore many critical arguments concerning the latest mobility turn bear some resemblance with the critical arguments related to the different theories of globalization. Justin Rosenberg argued that "the undeniably dramatic spatio-temporal phenomena of the 1990s were overwhelmingly produced by a process of social change – and not vice versa". Therefore, there are the social changes which created contemporary mobility that should be brought into focus and analyzed, not mobility itself as a merely spatio-temporal result of these changes.

Attempts to constitute a separate field of study or even a separate perspective, which might be called mobility approach, were discussed also in the broader context of recent developments in the field of social science. Such attempts are symptomatic for a broader tendency to select one particular social characteristic, social condition or social dimension, and to create a separate discipline or research perspective on this basis. In this mode, safety, which is a social condition of being "safe" and feeling protected against any harm, recently became the basis for the emergence of the safety science. Immanuel Wallerstein called the above mentioned process of separation between different fields of study the "microscopization of social science" (Wallerstein 1999). According to him, this process can be attributed more to the gradual growth in a number of researchers or the logic of an academic career rather than to the more substantial grounds. It is worth remembering that in many cases the creation of new disciplines and fields of research does indeed seem to be a logical and reasonable consequence of civilization development, social changes and increase in the scientific knowledge. In many others, however, it is difficult to see such a justification. In the opinion of opponents of the latest mobility turn, the dynamic increase in mobility in the contemporary world may not be a self-evident reason for the creation of a new research field.

Potential Benefits of the Mobility Turn

Although one can be cautious about the sufficiency of the grounds and premises to constitute a separate field of study; there should be no doubt that the ongoing increase in research on mobility may bring some significant benefits. First of all, it can change the perspective by altering the central object of an analysis, which can result in better comprehension of the subject matter. Such a change can be already seen in the International Relations. In many recent works of distinguished scholars in the field, the sovereign nation state is relegated to the secondary position; while "the things between" like movements, flows, interferences and interdependencies came into the foreground. Focusing on the movement and interactions of populations shed the light at the role of these processes in shaping the ideas, mental imaginaries and living conditions of different societies.

Secondly, the mobility turn should draw the attention to the barriers and contemporary exclusions from various forms of mobility. Urry and Grieco argue that "the social exclusion/inclusion agenda places the focus on transport in relation to very uneven levels of societal participation across various domains" (Urry, Grieco 2011: 1). It is worth remembering that mobility infrastructure in contemporary world becomes just another arena of expansion of the omnipresent market regulator and the neoliberal logic. Political philosopher Michael Sandel wroted about the fast-track lexus lanes of motorways in the United States, where commuters can buy their way out of bumper-trafic and take the paid express lanes. For fees of up to $10 during rush hour, solo drivers can buy the right to use paid express lanes in, among others, San Diego, Minneapolis, Houston, Denver, Miami, Seattle and San Francisco (Sandel 2012). In his opinion this is just one more proof that in the era of market triumphalism, citizens of the Western liberal democracies, without quite realizing it and without ever deciding to do so, "drifted from having a market economy to being a market society" (Sandel 2012: 10). Subjugating the mobility infrastructure to the market logic has immense social consequences. The mobility turn should inspire wide public debate about the public transportation, the role of markets in the support of mobility instruments and, more generally, a proper balance between the public and private in the social world. As it was argued by historian Tony Judt, "arguments from efficiency, conventionally invoked to justify private enterprise over public service, do not apply in the case of public transportation. The paradox of public transport is quite simply that the better it does its job, the less efficient it may be" (Judt 2011a: 182).

What's more, the growing popularity of mobility research corresponds to the latest upsurge in the interest in the city as a political space par excellence. Cities are increasingly seen as a sphere of real politics, an arena of international cooperation and effective public policies, in contrast to more and more dysfunctional nations. Sociologist Saskia Sassen observes that increase in mobility of people, goods, services and capital, resulting from contemporary economic globalization, denationalizes to date national territories (Saasen 2007: 10). This process is the most visible in the global cities like New York, London, Tokyo, Paris, Zurich, Amsterdam, Sydney or Hong Kong. Historically, cities have been synonymous with the sphere of mobility, the space of continuous motion and movement (Barber 2014). It is estimated that more than half of all people in the world already lives in cities and the percentage is growing. One hundred global cities account for thirty percent of the world's economy and almost all its innovation (Khanna 2010). The shape of the urban infrastructure is increasingly becoming the subject of conflicts between different social groups living in the cities. This is often generational conflict, when men and women of middle age as well as the elderly demand expansion of the existing street network whereas young people fight for a better public transport. The general dilemma "Who owns the city?" takes a form of various local struggles about the right to decide about the shape and forms of urban infrastructure and the instruments of mobility. According to the enthusiasts of mobility approach, much wider participation in the design and determination of levels and patterns of mobility will be more possible thanks to, among others, the new information communication technologies.

Conclusions

The article describes the latest upsurge in the interest in different forms of mobility in the contemporary world. This process results from a rapid increase in mobility of people, goods, services, capital, ideas and mental imaginaries at the turn of the century. The mobility turn, in the opinion of its enthusiasts, provides an answer to the growing need for the insertion of the "social" into analyzing travel and transport. It is argued that different theories of globalization created an analytical foundation and intellectual framework for the emergence of "mobilities". The article examines some of the most influential definitions of globalization, paying special attention to the emphasis on mobility. This examination proves that a common denominator among varying definitions consists of the notion that rapid increase in mobility in the contemporary world radically changes the very basic conditions of human existence in the world.

The most important doubts concerning the mobility turn were pointed out. Main critical arguments voiced by opponents of the turn consist of: questioning the ostensible newness of the insertion of the "social" into analyzing travel and transport; indicating that mobility as a social phenomenon has always been an important part of the social word and, as such, has been studied by the social science; claiming that the growth in mobility and overall undeniably dramatic spatio-temporal compression in the 1990s were produced by the processes of social change; not the other way around; therefore the social change should by analyzed, not its spatio-temporal results.

Finally, the potential benefits of the mobility turn were presented. It was indicated that mobility turn can: alter the central object of an analysis in many disciplines which ultimately may result in a better comprehension of the subject matter; draw the attention to the barriers and exclusions from the mobility and inspire a public debate about public provision of certain goods like mobility infrastructure. It was also noted that the newfound popularity of research on mobility corresponds to the growing interest in the cities as a political space par excellence.

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Most of anthropologist remember famous (and strongly controversial) Clifford Geertz's question: "What does ethnographer do?" – he writes (Geertz 1973: 19). In this volume we would like to introduce an another formula: What does ethnographer do? – he or she is in constant move. To be much less ambiguous: ethnographer drives a car. He or she uses motorways, roads, and parking spaces. He or she is a consumer of petrol/gas stations, car washes, roadside bars or restaurants and sometimes motels. Finally, he or she is a user of road sings, traffic lights, telephone booths and so on. For a discipline whose central professional rite of passage is fieldwork identifying as a permanent movement between "orbis interior" and "orbis exterior", there has been little a self-consciousness about the cultural consistency of this movement and its consequences. Taking it into consideration, presented volume can be comprehended as an attempt to deal with the issues of movement, notions of place and space, car cultures, cultural landscapes of road, roadsides and motorway, and above all cultural dimensions of social (local and global) practices and mechanisms connected with contemporary means of mobility.

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